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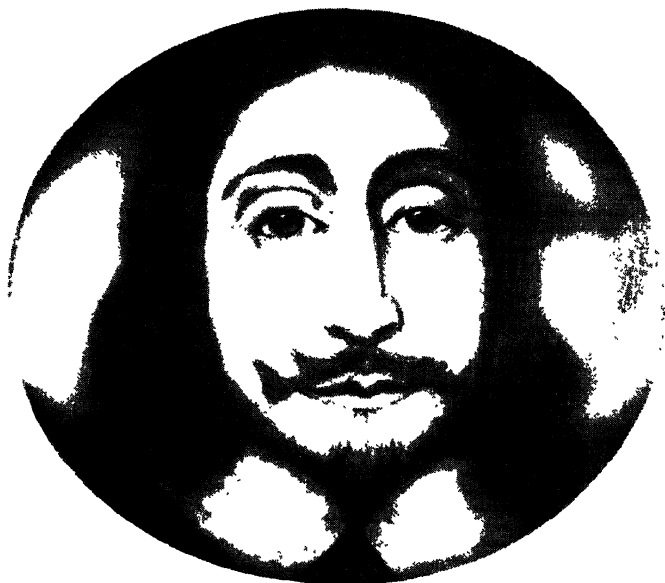
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HONEST HARRY



PORTRAIT IN THE RING ENLARGED



RING GIVEN BY KING CHARLES I
TO HENRY FIREBRACE

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HONEST HARRY

BEING THE BIOGRAPHY OF
SIR HENRY FIREBRACE, KNIGHT
(1619-1691)

By

CAPTAIN C. W. FIREBRACE, F.S.A.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

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PREFACE

THIS book has been written with two objects in view. The first was to tell the story of a man of exceptional character for his time, who, with no advantages of birth or fortune, succeeded in making a career for himself, and, whether he served the Roundhead Earl of Denbigh, or King Charles I, or in his later years the Lord Steward of the Household, by his integrity and devotion to duty earned the confidence and respect of all. The main interest of his life is centred in the two years in which he attended the King during his imprisonment, and this period furnishes the second object, which was to give a more detailed account than has been hitherto attempted, of the many schemes which he and the faithful band of his friends devised for his escape from his foes.

The story has been told by Hillier in *King Charles in the Isle of Wight* (1852) and by Mr. Allan Fea in *Memoirs of the Martyr King* (1905), but both these books are now out of print. A more recent work, *King Charles in Captivity*, by Miss Stevenson (1928) is a compilation of contemporary accounts of the period. Herbert's *Memoirs* and the *Narratives* of Major Huntington, Firebrace, and Col. Cooke, are given at length, but no critical or explanatory comments are added, nor does she include the secret correspondence of the King with Dowcett, Firebrace, Titus, and Sir William Hopkins, which are now not available to the general reader. Hillier

gives all the letters to Titus, but of the others only extracts are given by him and Mr. Fea.

All these letters are now printed in full, together with two to Edward Worsley and two to Nicholas Oudart. Many of those to Firebrace and Titus are undated and are out of their order in the original Manuscripts in the British Museum. An attempt has here been made to place them in chronological order and to give them approximate dates.

In these letters the King, writing in confidence to his friends reveals himself in his weakness and his strength. While in public he bore himself with dignity and patience, he here sometimes shows his real feelings towards those who kept him in captivity. In reading them we can also trace the cause of his ill success in making his escape in spite of the well-laid plans of Firebrace and his colleagues; the over-confidence in his own powers which so often proved wanting at the critical moment, his obstinacy in refusing to take advice, his proclivity for revealing his secret plans in cipher letters which he imagined could not be read should they fall into the hands of his enemies, and his want of courage in not acknowledging his error when warned of his indiscretion. On the other hand, he shows himself to his servants the kindly Master, somewhat fussy about details, but with many a thought for their comfort, grateful for their help, and mindful of the risks they ran. In their devotion to his person, his failings were forgotten, and the ill success of one scheme only made them more zealous to achieve their purpose with another.

By a fortunate chance two problems presented by these letters have now been solved. No. 53 in the Hopkins Letters which is partly in cipher,

is signed "Hellen," and no one hitherto appears to have identified the writer. It is now proved that she was the King's friend, Mrs. Jane Whorwood. In the Firebrace Letters are two (Nos. 32 and 35), also partly in cipher, which have not been decoded, and both the writer and the addressee were unknown. The interpretation of the cipher is now given and it is shown that they were written by the King to the same lady. The revelation of his affection for her adds a touch of romance which has before been lacking in the tale of his captivity.

I have made much use of Hillier's excellent book, but he gives no references and where no other authority for his statements has been found, an acknowledgement is made in the text. I am also indebted to Mr. Fea for many references, all of which, with one exception, were carefully verified. The exception, on p. 191, is acknowledged in a footnote.

I have now to acknowledge much help given to me in the compilation of this volume. First of all I venture to tender my most grateful thanks to H.R.H. Princess Beatrice, Governor of the Isle of Wight, who graciously gave me permission to make an inspection of her house in Carisbrooke Castle. I also thank Sir Victor Corkran, K.C.V.O., Comptroller to Her Royal Highness, through whom I was enabled to put forward my request. In determining the arrangement of the rooms as they were in 1648 from the evidence of contemporary documents, and in the suggested reconstruction of the ruined buildings, I owe much to the expert advice of my friend Mr. Alfred B. Yeates, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., who also drew the two plans. In carrying out this work the Foreman of Works and the other Officials were also very helpful. The Rev. A. F.

Hill, Headmaster of the Grammar School at Newport, was most kind in showing me over that interesting old house.

Much of the information concerning the history of the family and the early and later life of Sir Henry Firebrace is derived from a collection of records made by Mr. Charles Mason, an uncle by marriage, which came into my possession after his death. I am also much indebted to the late Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., and his son Mr. William Le Hardy, F.S.A., who for many years have made searches for me in the P.R.O.

The account of Stoke Golding and its inhabitants in the seventeenth century is taken from a Collection of Notes made by Mr. W. T. Hall, M.B.E., who very kindly placed them at my disposal. I have also most pleasant recollections of a visit to that village, when I enjoyed the assistance and hospitality of two leading residents, Mr. Robertson and Mr. Shilton.

I have also to thank Sir William Hyde Parker, Bt., who was kind enough to invite me to Melford Hall and allow me to examine the title deeds in his archives, and Lord Feilding for giving me permission to reproduce King Charles's ring as an illustration.

Many others have helped me in answering questions and clearing up doubtful points. I must thank them collectively, as the list is too long to mention them all by name, but I must not omit to acknowledge particularly the services so courteously rendered by the Officials at the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the London Library.

C. W. FIREBRACE.

CHAPTER I

THE ROUNDHEAD SECRETARY

AT the Visitation of Leicestershire in 1682 the only information as to his origin supplied by Sir Henry Firebrace to the Heralds was that he was the son of Robert Firebrace, gentleman, of the town and borough of Derby. But the inscription on his monument in Stoke Golding Church describes him as "*Vir ortu vitæque splendidus pervetusta a Normannis usque familia.*"¹ There would therefore appear to have been a tradition in the family of a descent from Norman ancestors. From the evidence of documents preserved in the Public Record office it is probable that this tradition had some foundation in fact.

His name is certainly Norman. The earliest record of it as an hereditary surname is in the Great Roll of the Norman Exchequer for 1198, where we find that Radulphus (Ralph) Fierebrache was brought before Robert de Tresgoz in the district of the Cotentin with eleven others and fined five shillings "*pro diff.*"² The names of the other men implicated are elsewhere recorded as men of good standing, and the fine was substantial for the time, so we may assume that this Ralph was of some consequence in the locality.

¹ See p. 243.

² Probably "*difforciatio*" or "*deforciatio*," *deforcement*, "the holding of any lands or tenements to which another person has right" (Wharton, *Law Lexicon*), "the action of forcibly keeping a person out of possession of anything."—(*O.E.D.*)

The name Fièrèbrace (in Latin Fera brachia, terrible or savage arms) is found in the French Chronicles, and was given as a nickname to several historical personages, of whom the best-known are Guillaume, 4th Duke of Aquitaine (fl. 983) and Guillaume, eldest son of Tancred de Hauteville, the conqueror and first Count of Apulia (1041), who is generally styled in the histories as William Bras de Fer.¹

But it may be carried still further back to a Paladin of Charlemagne, Guillaume, Count of Toulouse, a cousin of the Emperor. After a life spent in fighting the Saracens, he in 806 retired to the monastery of Aniane near Montpellier, and some years later founded another at Gellone a few miles away. Here he died and was canonized as Saint Guillaume de Gellone. In the church at Gellone, now known as S. Guilhem du Desert, the humerus bone of his right arm was long preserved in a silver reliquary. This, with other relics, was lost or destroyed in the French Revolution, but it is on record that the bone was of remarkable size.

St. Guilhem was a stage on the Via Tolosana, the road by which pilgrims travelled from all parts to the shrines of S. Gilles in Provence and of St. James of Compostella in Spain, and to it resorted the trouvères, the minstrels of the North, to entertain the weary travellers with their songs. Here they heard from the monks the story of their local saint, whose life they had written. Round it much legend had already grown, and blending it with the tale as it was told to them, the trouvères added incidents from other sources until at length was evolved the

¹ The mistranslation of the Latin was first proved by W. Clötta, and is supported by J. Bédier in *Les Légendes Épiques*, Vol. I, *Le Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange*, Paris, 1908.

cycle of romances now known as the "Geste de Guillaume d'Orange."¹ In it he appears also as Guillaume au Court Nez, and Guillaume Fièr-brace.²

After the return of the trouvères to their homes in the North, these songs of the southern hero became popular in Normandy, and the nickname of Fièr-brace was conferred by his comrades on some squire or man-at-arms who, by the power of his arms and his valour in the field, was considered worthy of the distinction. It was about this time that surnames became hereditary,³ and his descendants kept the honourable cognomen bestowed on their ancestor as the family name.

In England it appears first in the Pipe Roll for 1180/1. But its bearer was not a soldier but a craftsman, probably one of the many artisans who came over to England during the reigns of the Plantagenets. He was the Royal trunkmaker, and is recorded as receiving payment for "males"⁴ supplied for carrying silver plate and clothes to the King's daughter, Queen Eleanor of Castile. His name is given as Fierebrachius only, and he had probably no connexion with Ralph of the Cotentin, but may have been the first of a family of Ferbraz, citizens and tradesmen, whose wills are recorded in London between the years 1218 and 1320. Another member of it was perhaps Robert

¹ Much has been written on the subject of the origin of this Geste. The above is the theory propounded by J. Bédier in *Les Legendes Épiques*.

² "l'en soloit dire Guillelme Fièr-brace or dira l'an Guillelme l'amiable." *La Prise d'Orange*, ll. 1562, 1563.

³ About the beginning of the twelfth century.

⁴ Males: bags or portmanteaux in which clothes were carried if not habitually kept. (Riley, *Introduction to the Liber Albus*.)

Ferbras, citizen and barber surgeon, who died in 1470.

Coming now to the family with which we are concerned, we find that a John Ferrebraz settled in the neighbourhood of Brill and Boarstall in Buckinghamshire. He was probably a tenant of William de Lisures, the Lord of the Fee of Boarstall, for whom he acted as witness to a charter in 1190. In 1219 William Ferebraz was instituted as Rector of Hertwell near Aylesbury, and in 1224 Richard Ferebraz was Keeper of the King's Houses in Oxford. But the most important member of the family was Robert Ferbraz of Brill (alive in 1240) who was a man of considerable property, holding land also at Wye in Kent as a tenant of Battle Abbey, and possibly also at Willington in Derbyshire, in right of his wife Petronilla.¹

These properties were divided among the sons, for we now find three branches of the family. The holder of the land at Wye was the progenitor of the family of Farbrace, which became extinct in the male line in 1870.²

A second Robert Ferbraz held the land at Brill. He served in the abortive expedition to Wales against Llewellyn in 1257. His wife Benedicta was a widow in 1272.

A Ralph Ferebraz is found in Kent in 1250 where he is called Ralph de Dereby, but he appears to have gone to Willington perhaps after the death of his mother Petronilla. He and his wife Margery acquired in 1290 from Robert, son of Gilbert de Lytton, one messuage and one oxgang of land in Lytton. Margery was probably a de Lytton, and

¹ She is described in 1252 as "widow of Robert Firbraz."

² The name of Fairbrass is still common in East Kent villages.

this was her inheritance on the death of her father. Ralph died soon after and was succeeded by his son, Robert, who in 1301 married Isolde, daughter of Robert de Munjoye of Twyford and Steynston. He was concerned in the death of Piers Gaveston, having followed his lord, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was also Earl of Derby. His name is included among those who received the King's pardon for the murder on October 16, 1313. His wife is described as a widow in 1331.

Their son, John, married Margery, daughter of Lucy House and had two sons, Robert and William. John Ferebraz accompanied King Edward III on his expedition to meet the Emperor Louis of Bavaria in 1338 at the outbreak of the Hundred Years War.

His son Robert died without issue, and William had only two daughters. Another John Fyrbrace of Steynston who may have been a third son is mentioned as having two daughters, and with him the Willington branch appears to have become extinct.

There remained, however, a John Ferebraz at Brill, whose name is recorded from 1274 to 1319. The family would appear to have fallen on evil times, for a John Ferebraz of Brill was later bailiff to Edmund de Beresford in Beckmarsh, Co. Warwick, and in 1341 received the King's pardon after being outlawed for non-appearance to defend a suit brought by de Beresford against him.

This is the last we hear of a Ferebraz of Brill, but in 1390, in the Court Rolls of the Duchy of Lancaster, a John Fyrbrace is found residing at Duffield, some four miles north of Derby and ten from Willington. He, however, is of much lower rank than the predecessors of his name in Willington

and Brill, being a simple farmer who appears before the Manor Court and is fined for the common offence of brewing ale of a quality inferior to that ordered by the Statute. He must, however, have had a good holding, as in 1399 he was sworn as Reeve. His name being so uncommon and from the fact that he is found living so close to Willington, it is probable that he was one of the family, and as he cannot have been the John Fyrbrace of Steynston who was living there in 1414, we may put forward the theory that he was a son or grandson of John Ferebraz of Brill, who, after getting out of his troubles in 1341, came to Derbyshire and being coldly received by his relatives at Steynston, or perhaps with their assistance, took up land as a tenant of the Duchy at Duffield.

From 1390 the name recurs regularly in the Court Rolls of Duffield. John is found up to 1456. In 1499 we have Robert, and he is followed in 1510 by Roger and William, probably brothers. To them succeeds Henry in 1512, and with him the recorded pedigree of the family begins. He added to his land in 1520, and it is recorded that his farm was situated in and about the "Castle Field."

It was therefore on the site of Duffield Castle, the ancient stronghold of the Ferrers family, about a mile north of the present town of Duffield. It was completely destroyed in 1266, and its exact situation remained unknown until the foundations were discovered in 1886. The memory of it, however, had been preserved in the name of the Castle Field.¹

¹ The name of the Castle Orchard is still borne on the Ordnance Map. There appears to have been an orchard on the same spot in 1520, for part of the rent paid was a "strike of Saunsons," probably a variety of apple which is quite forgotten at the present day.

Henry Fyrbrace died in 1543, and his will with an inventory of his goods is recorded at Lichfield. The inventory is of interest as showing the personal property of a well-to-do farmer of the time. The live-stock comprised four bullocks, one cow, one "hefferstyrke" (yearling heifer) and two calves, a gander and a goose. For farm implements he had one wain and one plough with yokes and harrows. The furniture was scanty, two bedsteads with three pairs of sheets, two blankets and four coverlets, one aumbry (chest), a meat board and two forms, two shelves, two stools and a chair. The entry of "five looms and two kymnells" suggests that weaving was an important industry, but the association with "kymnells," which were tubs in which meat was salted for winter use, makes it clear that these "looms" were also tubs or buckets (*O.E.D.*). Various household and farm utensils, etc., made up the remainder. The whole was valued at £5 15s. 10d.

Humphrey Firebrace succeeded his father, but he dying without issue, his brother Robert was admitted as a tenant of the manor in 1567. He had set up in trade in the town of Derby as a saddler, but continued to hold the farm at Duffield. At his death in 1579 he was possessed of considerable property, some of which had come to him as his wife's dowry. His third son, Robert, was the father of the subject of this biography.

From the above survey of the family from the earliest records, we may conclude that up to the middle of the fourteenth century, its members had been ranked among the lesser gentry holding their land and following the King in his wars under their feudal superiors, but that they became impoverished in the troublous times of the Black Death and the

Peasants' Rising, and descended, as many other families did, to the class of tenant farmers. Later they gave up farming to become prosperous citizens and tradesmen of their county town. But in all their vicissitudes they preserved the tradition of their ancient race and dignity.

The baptism of Robert Firebrace is not registered in any of the churches, but he was born probably in Derby in 1574. Under his father's will, his inheritance was "v markes," "one sylver spowne," "all ye yrens that is in ye chimney after they decease of my wieffe," and the reversion of "they house that I now dwell in wt. the garden in the Walker Lane . . . and all they rest of they land and rents that I had of Mr. Sacheverell," which property was left to his mother for the term of twenty-one years. From depositions made by him later in life, we find that he was taken from school, and placed in the household of Sir Humphrey Bradbourne, knight, to wait and attend on his wife, Dame Elizabeth, "she then commonly calling this deponent by the name of clerke." From this we conclude that his duties were those of a secretary rather than of a page. From her service he passed into that of Robert Roper, Esquire, of Heanor and Lincolns Inn, Councillor. The latter died in 1598 and was buried in St. Peter's Church, Derby, but Firebrace probably remained on for a time in the service of his eldest son, Robert Roper the younger, also of Lincoln's Inn. In April, 1600, he married Susan, daughter of Thomas Jerome, yeoman, of Kegworth in Leicestershire. In the Visitation of Leicestershire in 1682, it is stated that his wife was Susanna, daughter of Thomas Hierome, merchant, of London. The information was no doubt supplied to the Heralds by Sir Henry Firebrace, and it is

curious that he should not have known who his mother was, but the marriage is proved by the entry in the Church Books at Kegworth, and confirmed by the will, dated 4th April, 1601, of his wife's grandfather, John Stone, yeoman, of Beeston, Notts, who appointed "Robert Fierbrace of Derby" executor, and left to his wife, Susanna, "two houses in Derby in the occupation of Widow Bitchcrofte, or else £40 in money to be paid out of my goods within one year of my decease."

Robert Firebrace did not sever his connexion with Derby until 1644, when, in conjunction with his third son John, then described as his son and heir, he sold a house in the parish of St. Peter, but he left the service of Robert Roper some time after his marriage, and took a farm at Calke near Melbourne. How long he remained is not known, probably his younger children were born there, as, with the exception of the eldest, no records of their baptisms are to be found at Derby. The parish registers of Calke for that period are, however, now lost. He was certainly there in 1608, being then described as of Calke, yeoman, and in 1610 as "of Melbarne, yeoman." In 1626 he is "of St. Peter's, Derby, gentleman," but in 1637 was settled in London in the parish of Holy Trinity, Minories, where his wife died and was buried in 1643. In the Visitation of Leicestershire he is stated to have died in 1649, but his name appears in the will of his son John dated 18 May, 1650. There is no record of his burial in the registers of Holy Trinity, Minories.

By his wife, Susanna Jerome, he had six sons, Robert, Brian, Samuel, John, Benjamin and Henry, and one daughter Rebecca. Of Robert and Samuel nothing is known, both died before 1644. The

others were apprenticed to different trades. Brian, a "taylor in the City of Westminster," died in Constantinople in or before 1642. John, citizen and vintner (made free 16 October 1635) of the Goulden Anchor, Great Minories Street in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate, died in 1650. His son John went to sea as purser in the "Merchant Adventure" of which his brother-in-law, Jonathan Atherton, was commander, trading to the West Indies. He settled in Barbados, where his descendants prospered as merchants and planters. From him the present sole surviving branch of the family descended. Benjamin was made free of the Clothworkers' Company in 1636. Rebecca was probably named after Rebecca, daughter of Robert Roper, her father's old employer. Rebecca Roper married, as his third wife, Sir William Villiers, Baronet, of Brokesby, half-brother to George, Duke of Buckingham, and to Susan, wife of William, first Earl of Denbigh. Sir William died in 1629 and the name of Rebecca Firebrace is found as one of the witnesses of his will. She had probably been taken into the Villiers household as her father had been into that of Dame Elizabeth Bradbourne. She married Thomas, son of Thomas Moseley of Lullington in Derbyshire, an attorney-at-law of Loughborough.

This marriage of Rebecca Roper to Sir William Villiers had an important effect on the after life of Henry Firebrace, for it was probably through her influence that he entered the service of her nephew, Basil, Earl of Denbigh. She may also have been the means of placing another of the Firebrace brothers in the household of her half-brother George, Duke of Buckingham. We find in *Picturesque Views on the Upper or Warwickshire Avon* written in 1795

by Samuel Ireland, the following statement : At Newnham Paddox

“ I was shown by his Lordship (Basil, 6th Earl of Denbigh, 1719–1800) the dagger with which Felton stabbed the Duke of Buckingham.—This dagger was brought from Southwick, the house of Sir Daniel Norton, within 5 miles of Portsmouth, where the court then was in 1628, and at which place the murder was committed. The person who brought it was one Firebrace, valet de chambre to the Duke, and who was the ancestor of the late Sir Cordel Firebrace, Baronet ; it was brought to the Lady Susannah Villiers, sister to the Duke, who was then married to Sir William Fielding, afterwards the first Earl of Denbigh, and ancestor to the present Earl.”

The statement is full of inaccuracies. The Duke was stabbed in his lodgings at Portsmouth, and the news was taken at once to the King at Southwick by Captain Charles Price. Had the Countess of Denbigh been with the Court she would have received the information at once, whereas she knew nothing of the murder until told of it by the Bishop of Ely the following day. Further, this Firebrace could not have been Henry, the ancestor of Sir Cordell, and also of the 6th Earl of Denbigh, as in 1628 he was only eight years old. Sir William Fielding also had been created Earl of Denbigh in 1622. It is possible, however, that the bearer of the dagger was one of the other brothers, perhaps Robert, the eldest, of whose career we know nothing.

But the authenticity of the dagger preserved at Newnham Paddox is also disputed, for another somewhat similar knife has been in the possession of the family at Southwick ever since the time of the murder. This is described as a “common butcher’s knife, exactly the same make as is now used in the trade.”¹ At a later date it was fitted

¹ Letter from Mr. Thomas Thistlethwayte of Southwick, dated Nov. 17, 1891.

with an agate handle mounted with silver bands. The blade itself is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long. That at Newnham Paddox has a blade nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and is fitted to an ivory handle. The Southwick knife seems to answer better to the description of the "tenpenny knife" bought "in a bye cutler's shop on Tower Hill."¹

As already stated, the birthplace of Henry, Robert Firebrace's youngest son, is not recorded, but from sworn statements made later in his life, we can calculate that he was born between November, 1619, and January, 1620. In the Register of Repton School one of the earliest entries is "—— Firebrace," a Foundation Scholar, who appears to have left in 1633. The absence of a Christian name makes it impossible to identify him with certainty, but Robert Firebrace was living within easy reach of Repton, either at Calke or Derby, and as Henry was destined for the law, his father would no doubt be glad to avail himself of the opportunity of providing him with the excellent education given there under the mastership of Thomas Whitehead, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge, who in 1621 was described by one of his pupils as a "right Elizabethan Protestant."

But whether it was at Repton or elsewhere, there is no doubt that he received a good grounding in sound principles and useful knowledge, which,

¹ Sir Henry Wotton, *Life and Death of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, 1642; *Harl. MSS.*, Vol. III, p. 622. Another account, printed in 1740 but with no author's name, states that passing out of the Postern Gate upon Tower Hill, Felton espied the Fatal Knife in a Cutler's Glass Case, which he bought for sixteen pence. It was the point end of a Cuff-Blade, stuck in a Cross Haft, the whole length, handle and all, not twelve inches.

endowed as he was by nature with a good understanding and a well-balanced mind, enabled him to serve faithfully and gain the confidence of both Roundhead and Royalist alike, and to deserve the epithet bestowed on him in later life of "honest Harry Firebrace."

In 1633 he was thirteen years of age, and it would appear probable that it was in this year that his father went to live in London and apprenticed him to Richard Greene, a scrivener, of All Hallows, Barking, for he was still an apprentice in 1639.¹ But in September, 1640, we find his name as a witness to the will of Samuel Cranmer, Citizen and Alderman, where he is described as "servant to Richard Rochdale, Scrivener."² He may therefore have been apprenticed for seven years, and have transferred his services to Rochdale in that year. He was still with him in January, 1642/3.³

But he was soon to sever his connexion with the law. In August, 1642, the King had raised his standard at Nottingham and the civil war had broken out. It was incumbent on every young man of spirit to take a side and fight for King or Parliament. On June 19, 1643, Basil, Earl of Denbigh, who had embraced the Parliamentary cause, was appointed, on the death of Lord Brooke, Commander-in-Chief "of all the Forces in the Counties of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford and Salop with the Cities and Counties of Coventry and Lichfield,"

¹ *Admiralty High Court Examinations*, Vol. 55, Bushell v. Bushell.

² *Genealogical Memoirs of the Chesters of Chicheley*, R. E. Chester Waters, Vol. II, p. 455.

³ Original deed in the possession of the author, dated 17 Jan., 1642-3 (16, Ch. I).

and on the following day, Henry Firebrace received the appointment of "Secretary to the Counsels of Warr from time to time held by him." What his political convictions were, we do not know. He may have been early imbued by the "right Elizabethan Protestant" Whitehead, with Puritan ideas, or his legal training may have caused him to look on the Parliamentary side with favour, but there is no doubt that his appointment by Lord Denbigh was due to interest exercised by his sister Rebecca through her patroness, Lady Villiers, who was sister-in-law to Susan, Countess of Denbigh, Basil's mother. It was a great opportunity for this young scrivener's clerk of three and twenty, and though we hear little of him during the next few years, it is evident that he made the most of it, and gained the complete confidence of his employer.

Lord Denbigh held his office as Commander-in-Chief in the Midlands up to the date of the passing of the Self-Denying Ordinance. It passed the Commons on December 19, 1644, but was rejected by the Lords, as depriving the Peers "of that honour which in all ages had been given to them." The measure was sent up again on March 31, 1645, and on April 2, the Earls of Manchester, Essex, and Denbigh voluntarily offered to resign their commissions. Their resignations were accepted, and on the following day the Ordinance was passed, the three Peers receiving a vote of thanks for their services.

During the period of his command, Denbigh made Coventry his headquarters, but Councils of War were held in different places during the campaign, so it is probable that Firebrace accompanied him in the field. We get only one glimpse of him in a letter now at Newnham Paddox :

“ GOOD MR. FIREBRASS,

I have sent you by this Barer yor. messenger 18*£*10*s.* wch. makes ye 30*s.* you had of me at Dunstable and ye *£*10 at Coventry *£*30. I cannot now send more but wth as this 3 or 4 daies I shall send you the rest behinde with many obligations of service.

I remayne,
Yor. very Lo ffriend,
Fox.

EDGBASTON HALL,
7 March, 1643. (1643/4.)

or if earnest occasions require soner send and yor. shall not want it.

To our Very Lo ffriend
MR. FFIREBRASE *these.*

No place is mentioned in the address, but it was probably Coventry where Lord Denbigh was at this time. The writer was no doubt Colonel John Fox. There is a reference to him in the *Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knight*,¹ to which the Editor adds the following note :

“ John Fox, ‘ the Tinker ’ as he is here called, and ‘ that rogue Fox ’ as the Royalists sometimes term him, appears to have been a very active officer, and no small annoyance to his adversaries. Amongst the papers of the Republican Earl of Denbigh, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the Counties of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford and Salop, is a Memorandum, made about March, 1643/4, of a Commission granted to John Fox, to be Colonel of a Regiment to consist of 6 Troops of Horse and 2 Companies of Dragoons, and a Commission to Reynold Fox to be his Major. The same collection (which the Editor had the pleasure of arranging for the present Earl of Denbigh in two large folio volumes in

¹ Edited by William Hamper, Esq., F.S.A., London, 1827.

1823), contains several letters from Fox during his occupation of Edgbaston House in Warwickshire ; where nothing but the enthusiasm of party could have kept his ill-fed and ill-clothed soldiers together. Indeed, at one time, he confesses that he durst not leave them, to wait upon his lordship, 'for fear of meetynges and a general departure.' Fox signs in an illiterate manner, and his letters are always in the handwriting of another, probably that of a German,¹ as he mentions 'Hampton, Brewood and the "Dorpes" (villages) thereabouts.' By referring to the entry of October 5, it will be found that the united forces from Worcester and Dudley Castle were not able to unkennel him in his little garrison at Edgbaston, but returned 'without doing anything,'² or, as Fox would probably have said, were repulsed with loss. Odious enough in the eyes of the Cavaliers for his successful opposition, he was surcharged with being one of King Charles's executioners : 'Some have a conceit that he that gave the stroke was one, Collonell Foxe, and the other Captain Joyce, who took the King from Holmeby; but that is not believed.' " ("Journal of the Earl of Leicester" in *Sidney Papers* by Blencowe, p. 61.)

• It does not appear whether the money lent to Fox, of which part was now repaid, was on account of a private loan from Firebrace himself, or an advance from Lord Denbigh as his Commander-in-Chief. As Firebrace evidently handed the letter on to Denbigh, who preserved it amongst his private papers, it is probable that the latter furnished the loan. The pay of the Army was much in arrear. Firebrace was in no better case than the rest, and though he may have drawn a salary as Denbigh's private secretary, as far as we know he had no means of his own.

We have one other reference to this period in the

¹ The word Dorpe suggests that he was more probably a Dutchman.

² *Diary*, p. 73 "Oct. 5. Forces went out of Worcester and joyned wth. others from Dudley Castle to recover Edgbaston House from the Rebels. Returned without doing anything."

letter written in 1675 to Sir George Lane, which is generally known as "Henry Firebrace's Narrative." In it he states: "I had the honour to be known to his Majesty by several services I had done him in the time of the treaty, at Uxbridge, at Oxford, and other places."

No doubt he accompanied Denbigh to Oxford (November 22-29, 1644) and to Uxbridge (January 21-February 22, 1644/5), but in the subordinate position which he held, it is unlikely that he could have rendered any services to the King, unless while acting with the authority and under the instructions of his master. The only theory which will account for his statement is that Denbigh entered into some private communication with Charles at both places. As far as we know they never met except officially, but it is possible that Firebrace acted as an intermediary, either carrying letters which were afterwards destroyed, or bearing communications by word of mouth.

The exact nature of the proposals which he may have conveyed on these occasions is unknown, but they were no doubt designed to induce the King to make such concessions to the Parliament as would bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion, and this is evident from his second Memorial to King Charles II (1660), in which he says:

"It is to be offered that his late Mat^{tie} was pleased to say in relation to the said Earle to Ffirebrass a faithful servant to his Mat^{tie} King Charles recommended to his Mat^{tie} by the said Earle. When the said Firebrass took his leave of his Mat^{tie} being discharged by order of Parliam^t upon a jealousie they had he was faithful to the King, his Mat^{tie} thus exprest himselfe 'Commend me to yo^r. old Master and tell him I wish I had taken his advice when time was.'"

Denbigh, indeed, at Oxford and Uxbridge had

every reason to wish to end the struggle and bring about a reasonable peace. He had recently suffered a severe blow to his pride. Just before the Conference at Oxford he had narrowly escaped the censure of the Commons for alleged "favouring of delinquents," and by the passing of the Self-Denying Ordinance he was obliged to lay down his command. Also the harsh terms of peace proposed went far beyond his moderate views, and, though he loyally submitted to them, it was in the hope of arriving at a compromise which would bring about the object for which he had taken up arms, a Government by King *and* Parliament. A Royalist at heart, and an aristocrat by birth and breeding, but compelled by pride and the weakness of his moral fibre to remain faithful to the side which he had originally embraced by conviction, he now saw his power stripped from him by men of lesser birth whom he despised, the monarchy likely to be overthrown, and the very life of the King in danger. It was from his heart that he spoke in the interview with Hyde at Uxbridge, "that if any conjunction fell out, in which by losing his life he might preserve the King's, he would embrace the occasion." He was of the same mind when he found his name placed on the list of the King's judges, and declared "that whereas the Commons were pleased to put his name into the ordinance as one of the Committee for trying his Majesty, he would choose be torn in pieces rather than have any share in so infamous a business."

The King's fatal obstinacy brought all Denbigh's efforts to naught, but the favourable impression which Firebrace made as his intermediary led to important consequences which were later to affect the whole course of his life.

CHAPTER II

A SERVANT OF THE KING

AFTER resigning his command, Denbigh took up his residence at his house in Queen Street, Covent Garden, and Firebrace took the opportunity provided by this period of rest to take to himself a wife. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Dowell of Stoke Golding, a village in Leicestershire, near Hinckley and some fourteen miles from Coventry. They were a well-to-do family of yeoman class, evidently of strong Puritan leanings, for as early as 1620 Daniel, his wife, and his four brothers had been repeatedly fined and some of them excommunicated for absenting themselves from the parish church and attending services at Higham and other places where the Puritan Mr. Hooker was preaching.

Stoke Golding had been held by the Royalists and is said to have been the scene of a skirmish in 1644, when it was taken by Denbigh's forces. Firebrace may have first met her there or perhaps had made her acquaintance earlier in London, as in 1642 she was in the service of the Denbigh family as attendant on the young Lady Susan Hamilton,¹ who was then living at Whitehall under the care of her grandmother Susan, Countess of Denbigh.

The wedding was celebrated in June, probably

¹ Youngest daughter of James, 1st Duke of Hamilton, who married Margaret, daughter of William, 1st Earl of Denbigh. She had died in 1638.

in her native village,¹ and for some six years their married life appears to have been untroubled, but in 1651 a spectre of the past arose in the person of the Rev. Richard Burney of Erisse (? Erith) in Kent, who brought an action against the pair to recover a debt of £30. According to the depositions in the suit, he, in or about May or June 1642, being then Chaplain to the Countess of Denbigh, "became a suitor in way of marriage, and after much conference between them she agreed to marry him." Apparently as a condition of her consent, he paid her debts amounting to £20, and also supplied her with "clothing, linen and other necessities to the value of £10 and upwards."

To this Elizabeth replied that "she did not then or at any time before or since entertain him as a suitor, and so told him to desist from that course, as she did not conceive his manners, or means, in any sort suitable to match in marriage with her, he then having no other means or fortune to maintain himself but his apparel, and service as a stipendary Chaplain or Curate under others for aught she conceiveth or believes; whereas she had then a personal and real fortune and estate known to R.B. worth about £500. R.B. thereupon proposed to desist as a suitor, but asked leave to visit her sometimes." Her statement goes on to say that in June and July 1642 she fell sick of a fever and left Whitehall to lodge with a Mrs. Green at Knightsbridge, where she remained for six weeks, "being deprived of her memory and understanding."

The suit was a protracted one, for in June 1653, we find more depositions by various witnesses con-

¹The marriage register of Stoke Golding has no entries earlier than 1653.

cerning the illness of Elizabeth. Her hostess is now widow Smith instead of Mrs. Green and the date is "about nine years ago." (1644.) But they agreed that Burney visited her there, and supplied her with "rabbetts, poultry, sugar" and divers sums of money. They declared that Elizabeth stated: "I now could eene sell myselfe to that man that would furnish me with a gowne and petticoate and paie my debts," and the complainant afterwards paid her debts and bought her a "silk gowne and petticoate, hose, shoes, linnen and gloves and such other necessaryes" she "being at that time very bare in cloathes." None of the witnesses knew Firebrace, but in 1644 he was on active service.

There would appear to be no doubt that the lady was hard pressed for money, and made use of the Chaplain as a means of extricating herself from her difficulties. The fortune of £500 of which she claimed to be possessed in 1642 was only an anticipation of the reversion of half the property of her uncle George Dowell, which did not fall in till after the death of his wife in 1645. Her father was still alive, and as far as we know she had no other means. Having got all she could from her parson lover, she jilted him in favour of the more attractive soldier secretary.

There is no record of the result of the case. Burney lost his appointment as Chaplain to Lady Denbigh when she accompanied the Queen to France in July 1644. He later married another lady, was vicar of several parishes in Kent, and at his death in 1692 was Rector of All Saints and St. Peter's, Canterbury. According to Anthony Wood, he left behind him "the character of a vainglorious and weak person and a son named John." Judging

by this obituary notice, it would seem that Elizabeth had a fortunate escape.

After their marriage Firebrace and his wife took up their residence in the parish of St. Andrew of the Wardrobe, at a convenient distance from Lord Denbigh's house. During the two years' campaign he had received no pay for his services, and early in the following year he put in a sworn statement of the arrears due to him. It is dated 22nd March, 1645/6 :

"Henry Firebrace by this spetiale demand and direction of the right hon^{ble} Basill Earle of Denbigh, late Generall of all the forces in the Counties of Warwick, Worcester, Stafford and Salop with the citties and counties of Coventry and Lichfield, and parts adjacent, to serve for the defence of the King's Parliam^t and Kingdom, did undertake and execute the place of Secretary to the Councills of Warr from tyme to tyme held by his Lo^p. And mainteyned at his oune charge a servant and two horses for the better executinge the same place from the twentieth day of June 1643 : untill the second day of Aprill 1645 : ffor which service he humbly craveth (and which was promised by his Lo^p upon his undertaking the same place) this pay and allowance of tenn shillings per diem, for himself and his servant

which 10s. per diem from the said 20th day of June 1643 untill the said second day of Aprill 1645 being six hundred ffifty and one days amount to the sum of three hundred twenty ffive Pounds and ten shillings	}	<p>£ s. d.</p> <p>325 : 10 : 00</p>
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The said Henry Firebrace declareth that he found and provided at his owne charge Paper, Books, and all other necessities for the execucon of the same place, and never received any allowance or satisfaccōn for the same, nor any pay for himself or his servant.

H. FIREBRACE."

This claim was backed up by a testimonial from Lord Denbigh :

Wmth Mary 1645

Whereas by the especial command and direction of the right
hon^{ble} Robert Earl of Denbigh, late Govern^r of all the shires, in
the Countie of Merioneth, Worcester, Stafford and Linc^{sh} with
the Citties and Countie of Shrewsbury, and Lichfield and parts
adja^{cent}, to serve for the defence of the Kings Barren^t &
Kingdome, did undertake and assigne the place of ^{Shrewsbury} ~~Shrewsbury~~
to the Countie of Merioneth, from tyme to tyme held by his
Lo^{ty}. And main^{tained} at his owne Charge a s^{er}vant and two
horses for the better executing the same place from the
Eeventh day of June 1643: untill the second day of April
1645: for w^{ch} service he humbly crave th^t and he was
promised by his Lo^{ty} upon his undertaking the same place
the pay and allowance of Ten shillings per diem for
himself and his s^{er}vant.



Which he received from the said
Lo^{ty} the day of June 1643 untill the said
second day of April 1645 beinge six
hundred fiftye and dayes amounte to 325 10 00
the sume of Three hundred Twenty five
pounds and Ten shillings.

The said Henry Shuckard doth testify that he found he received
at his owne Charge Paper Booke and all other more specified for
the execution of the same place and never received any
allowance or satisfaction for the same, nor any pay for
himself or his s^{er}vant.

Teste me 10 45
J^ohn & exam^r m^oris

at Shrewsbury

10 45

[Signature]

to some other person My Lord of Denbigh hath to approve the pay of
his officers

“ This is to certify all whom it may concern that Henry Firebrace by my espetiall command and direccō did undertake and execute the place of Secretary to the Courts and Councils of Warr held by me from tyme to tyme, in w^{ch}. place he demeaned himself faithfully, carefully and diligently, from the twentieth day of June 1643 : untill the second day of Aprill 1645. : And found and provided at his oune charge Paper, Books and all other necessities for the execucon of the same place, and kept and mainteyned a servant and two horses in the said service, for w^{ch}. he never received any manner of sattesfaccon or any pay from the State, And I do further certify, That upon all occasions, he did willingly and readily expose himselfe to any danger whatsoever, that might conduce to the advancem^t of this cause, Given under my hand and seal—

This sixt day of December Anno Dom. 1645

B. DENBIGH.”

No reply to his appeal is on record. The authorities of that day evidently had a loophole by which they might escape from paying their just debts, for at the bottom of it is written the statement : “ To see what power My Lord of Denbigh had to allowe the paye of his officers.”

During the whole of the year 1646 he remained in London in attendance on Denbigh. His daughter Susanna was born in April and baptized at St. Ann’s, Blackfriars, on the 16th. In June he appeared as a witness in a suit dating back to his scrivener days. It was not till January, 1646/7, that he was again actively employed.

But by the end of 1645 the civil war was practically over. The Royalists had been routed at Naseby on Saturday, June 14, and on November 6 the King took refuge in Oxford. There he remained for the winter, but on April 27, 1646, on the approach of Fairfax, he left the city accompanied only by Col. John Ashburnham, his Groom of the Bedchamber, and Dr. Michael Hudson, his

Chaplain, and threw himself on the protection of the Scottish army besieging Newark. On its surrender on May 6, the Scots marched northwards and reached Newcastle on the 13th. With them went the King, still attended by Ashburnham and Hudson and two servants whom they had engaged on the way, John Pearson of Newark, barber, and John Brown of St. Ives, innkeeper.

The Parliament were soon informed of their arrival and despatched a peremptory letter demanding the surrender to them of "Ashburnham and all others that came with the King into the Scots army before Newark." To this the Scots demurred, but Ashburnham got them out of their difficulty by escaping at His Majesty's express desire, on May 16. He took with him the following letter to the Queen¹ :

NEWCASTLE. *May 15th 1646.*

DEAR HEART.

The necessity of my affairs hath made me send Jack Ashburnham unto thee ; who at this present is the most (and with the greatest injustice) persecuted of all my servants, and merely for his fidelity to mee ; which is well knowne to thee, that I need neither recommend him to thy care, nor take ye pains of setting downe the present state of my affaires, and how they have changed since I came from Oxford, and why it is so long since I wrote to thee ; referring all to his faithful relation ; as likewise what I desire thee to doe for my assistance : so transferring at this time ye freedome of my pen, to his tongue, I rest eternally thine

C. R.

I owe Jack £9,200 which I earnestly recommend thou would'st assist him in for his repayment.

¹ Quoted in *Ashburnham's Narrative and Vindication*, 1830.

Hudson was arrested and placed in the custody of the deputy mayor, but a week later, with the connivance of the Scots and with the consent of the King, he also got away, and went to London with the intention of crossing to France. There he hoped to secure the Queen's assistance in contriving the escape of the King from Newcastle. Through his brother-in-law, Dr. Francis Crosse, he procured a pass in Crosse's name and went on to Sandwich, where he was discovered and taken. For some months he was imprisoned in London House, but succeeded in escaping, only to be recaptured at Hull in January, 1646/7. He was then sent to the Tower of London, but after a year's imprisonment, escaped again to his own county of Lincolnshire, where he raised the gentry in support of the King. His gallant effort was short-lived. After an encounter with the Parliamentary troops, he, with fourteen others, took refuge in Woodcroft House, in the parish of Etton, Northamptonshire. Next morning however, the besiegers forced their way in by breaking a hole in the wall, and Hudson and his men were driven to the top of the house. Quarter was offered to all except "that rogue Hudson," and on its being refused, all were slain or taken. Hudson himself "threw himself over the battlements and hung by his hands, as intending to throw himself into the moat beneath, till they cut off his wrists and let him drop, and then ran down to hunt him in the water, where they found him paddling with his stumps, and barbarously knocked him on the head." He was buried in the church of Kings Cliffe, of which parish he had been rector.¹

¹ Kennet's account in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*. Michael Hudson was born in Westmoreland, and was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, where in 1630 he was elected to a

On his arrival at Newcastle, the King was lodged in the Earl of Leven's quarters, Anderson House, recently the residence of the Governor Sir John Lumsden. He had stayed there also on his visit to the town in 1639, when it belonged to Sir Francis Liddell the sheriff. Officers were appointed to attend him,¹ but he disliked having strangers about him, and he wrote two letters to Sir Edward Nicholas at Oxford, asking that all his old servants who were willing should be sent up to him.² Their arrival is not recorded, but we have evidence that certainly seven of them were in attendance during the year. These were William Murray, Groom of the Bedchamber,³ William Levett, Page of the fellowship. He then took Holy Orders, and was given the living of Uffington, near Stamford. At the outbreak of the Civil War he adhered to the King, and after Edgehill retired to Oxford where in 1642 he was given the degree of D.D. and made a Chaplain to the King, with whom he was a great favourite. Later he became a Scout Master General with the army in the North. He is described as "a jovial parson, one that hath made more race-matches than sermons."

¹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, May 14-21, 1646. "Because certain officers were wanting new were appointed and old Sir Henry Gib is become a young courtier."

² Dated May 16 and June 2, 1646. Printed in *Evelyn's Diary*, Wheatley's Edition, Vol. IV.

³ William Murray, son of William Murray of Dysart, Co. Fife, was taken to Court as a boy by his uncle, Sir Robert Murray, and educated with Prince Charles (Charles I). He was appointed a Groom of the Bedchamber in 1626, and had great influence with the King, who employed him during the war as an emissary to France. In 1646 he was arrested as a spy and sent to the Tower, but was released through the intervention of the Scottish Commissioners, and allowed to go to Newcastle on his assurance that he would do all in his power to induce his Master to yield to the conditions of the Parliament. He arrived there in September. In 1643 (or 1646) he was created Earl of Dysart. He married Catharine Bruce, grand-daughter of Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan.

Backstairs, Sir James Levington,¹ Henry Murray,² Mungo Murray, Patrick Maule,³ and James Maxwell.⁴

During the whole of the long-drawn-out negotiations between the Scots and the Parliament for his surrender, the King remained in Newcastle. He had given up all hope of assistance from those on whose protection he had relied when he fled from

¹ Sir James Levingston, Baronet, son of Sir James Levingston, Bt., of Kinnaird, was brought up in France, and succeeded his father in 1628, being then a minor. Later he was appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the King. In September, 1647, he was created Viscount Newburgh, and in 1660 Earl of Newburgh. He married (1) Katharine, Lady Aubigny, who died in exile at The Hague in 1650, and (2) Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Poole of Saperton, Co. Glos. He died in 1670. He is described in Wood's Edition of *Douglas's Peerage of Scotland* as "one of the finest gentlemen of the age, of untainted principles of loyalty and honour."

² Henry Murray's antecedents are unknown. He married Anne, daughter of the first Viscount Bayning. He was not raised to the Peerage as were so many of his colleagues, but after the death of her brother the 2nd Viscount Bayning in 1674, his widow was created a Peeress for life as Viscountess Bayning of Foxley. His death is recorded by Lady Fanshawe in her *Memoirs*: "about this year (1651) Lord Chief Justice Heath died at Calais, and several of the King's servants at Paris, and amongst others Mr. Henry Murray of the Bedchamber, a very good man."

³ Patrick Maule, son of Patrick Maule of Panmure, Co. Forfar, accompanied James I to London as Groom of the Bedchamber, and continued in this office under Charles I, with whom he was a special favourite. In August, 1646, he was created Baron Maule of Brechin and Earl of Panmure. He died in 1661.

⁴ James Maxwell, brother of Robert Maxwell, Sergeant-of-Arms to the House of Commons, had advanced large sums of money to the King, for which jewels were pledged to him. He also was granted land and mines in Derbyshire. He married the widow of William Ryder of Kingston-on-Thames, Surveyor to the Stables to James I.

Oxford, and was now to all intents and purposes a prisoner in their hands. It was natural, therefore, that as soon as he had got some of his old friends about him, he turned his thoughts again towards a plan of escape.¹ This however, did not mature until December. William Murray, and William Levett, in conjunction with Sir Robert Murray, were the chief organizers.

The Captain of a Dutch ship lying at Tynemouth was offered £100 to carry the King to Dunkirk or to some port in France, but some information reached the authorities, and he was taken before the Mayor and examined. Murray and Levett then sent Tobias Peaker, a Groom of the Privy Chamber, to Hartlepool with a view to securing a ship there, but Peaker betrayed them to the Mayor.² According to another account,³ given to the author by Sir Robert Murray himself, the latter was to have conveyed the King to the ship at Tynemouth in disguise, and that he put it on and had gone down the backstairs, when, perceiving that it might be impossible to get past the guards, and "judging it hugely indecent to be caught in such a condition," he changed his mind and went back.

If this version is correct, we see here one reason why the many attempts made by the King to escape from his imprisonment always ended in failure. He had supreme confidence in his powers before the event, but at the critical moment he had not the resolution necessary to screw his courage to the sticking point and dare all to achieve success. This

¹ On July 8 he wrote to Ashburnham : " my opinion is that I am lost if I goe not into ffrance before the end of August next, and take heed that I be not releevd too late."

² Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

³ Burnet, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*.

and other weak points in his character, rendered futile all the efforts of his devoted followers. The insuperable difficulty with which they had to contend was the nature of the King himself.

But all thoughts of escape had now to be put aside, for the negotiations for his surrender to the Parliament had been completed, and on January 23, 1646/7, the Commissioners, Lords Denbigh, Pembroke, and Montagu with six Members of the Commons, arrived in Newcastle to receive him. With them came a numerous suite, and from a member of it we get some account of the hardships of winter travel in the seventeenth century :

“ Our journey was long and the wayes exceedingly bad ; our coaches soon tyred, our horses scarce able to hold out, and ourselves weary, yet is all compensated by the cheerfulness and joynt healths of all our Company.”¹

Firebrace accompanied Denbigh as his secretary, and it was shortly after his arrival that he entered the King's service. He relates in his *Narrative* :

“ Being at Newcastle when the Scots delivered his Majestie to the English, I did (by his directions, to the end that I might with greater Freedome, and less suspition of those, who had him in Custodie) make my application to some of the Commissioners that I might be admitted to attend his Majestie as one of the pages of his Bedchamber, in which I prevailed.”

He here openly avows that he was a King's man at this time, a fact which could only have been known to his own master, and he makes it clear that it was Denbigh who contrived to get him a place in the Household, and who recommended him to the other Commissioners as a man in whom he placed absolute confidence. It is consistent with what we know of Denbigh to believe that he so acted with the idea that through the medium of Firebrace he might

¹ *Thomason Tracts*, E, 373 (8).

yet persuade the King to make concessions to the Parliament which would preserve the Monarchy, or at the worst that he might be the means of saving his life.

The first task of the Commissioners after taking over the person of the King was to remove from him all the old servants who had come to him from Oxford, and to provide others approved by Parliament "as not having been in arms or assisted in this unnatural war against Parliament or adhered to the enemy."¹ At an interview on February 1, they "humbly prayed his Majesty to dismiss such of his servants as were there and had waited on him at Oxford."² It was only after some expostulation and deliberation that he gave his consent. "Might he not," he asked, "have old servants go along with him and sometimes cast his eye upon if not serve him?"³ They agreed at last to allow Patrick Maule and James Maxwell to remain in their old posts as Grooms of the Bed-chamber, "in which place they had many years faithfully served the King." On the next day, after they had waited on him at dinner, the others "kissed his Majesty's hand and with great expressions of grief for their dismiss, poured forth their prayers for his Majesty's freedom and preservation, and so departed."⁴

¹ *House of Commons Journals*.

² *Herbert's Memoirs*. He, however, states that the servants were dismissed when the King was at Holmby. All the contemporary accounts agree that they left at Newcastle. Herbert, writing many years later, is very often wrong in his dates. Mr. (William) Murray is especially mentioned in a contemporary newsletter as having been then dismissed. He went to France and did not return to the King's service.

³ *The Moderate Intelligencer*, Jan. 28-Feb. 4, 1646/7.

⁴ *Herbert's Memoirs*.

Those who had arrived with the Commissioners to attend upon the King were nine in number :

Colonel Thomas Herbert . . .	} Grooms of the Bedchamber.
Mr. James Harrington . . .	
Sir Fulke Greville	
	Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber and Cup Bearer.
Capt. Anthony Mildmay . . .	Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber and Carver.
Capt. Middleton	Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber and Sewer. ¹
Mr. Anstey	Gentleman Usher Daily Waiter.
Mr. Babbington	Groom of the Privy Chamber and Barber.
Mr. John Joyner	Master Cook.
Dr. Wilson	Physician.

Of these John Joyner had served, apparently with distinction, as a Captain in the Parliamentary Army, and was specially recommended as having the good opinion of the House of Commons. The post he received seems hardly worthy of his past rank and services, but he gave satisfaction, for he and Herbert were the only ones who remained continuously in the King's service until his execution.

The Commissioners were empowered to complete the members of the Household at Newcastle, and the following were appointed there :

Mr. Francis Cressett . . .	Steward and Treasurer.
Captain Silius Titus . . .	Equerry.
Mr. Napier	Groom of the Privy Chamber and Barber.
Mr. Abraham Dowcett . . .	Clerk of the Kitchen.

¹ The officer who superintended the arrangements of the table, the seating of the guests, and the tasting and serving of the dishes.—(O.E.D.)

Mr. John Burroughs . . .	Gentleman Harbinger and Clerk of the Spicery.
Mr. Preston	Clerk of the Avery. ¹
Mr. Readinge	} Pages of the Bedchamber.
Mr. Henry Firebrace . . .	
Mr. Saltmarshe	Assistant to the Clerk of the Kitchen.
Mr. Smith	Eurieman and Clerk of the Mouth. ²
Mr. Shirley	} Pages of the Presence.
Mr. Laban	
Mr. Lewen	Cellarman.
Mr. Catchaside	Butteryman.
Mr. Andrew	Undercook.

Some further information is found in a manuscript, which was evidently drawn up by Lord Denbigh, and is now in the archives at Newnham Paddox. It contains the names of such persons "who are appointed to attend His Majestie to Holdenby" and "the names of such who may go along in your Majestie's Court att large not having any place of service." Mr. Patrick Maule and Mr. James Maxwell are "to serve in the Bedchamber. Mr. Thomas Herbert, Mr. James Harrington, Sir Fulke Greville (gentleman usher of the Privy Chamber), Mr. Mildmay, Mr. Middleton, Sir John Thoroughgood, Mr. Anstey, Mr. Babington (groom of the Privy Chamber) are "to serve as Gentlemen in the Privy Chamber, and his Majestie if he please may make choice of any of these to serve as cup-bearer and carver. £100 is to be put into Dowcett's hands on account, to provide the King's diet : John

¹ For Avenary. The office which supplied oats and fodder for the horses.

² For Eweryman. The Ewery was a room where ewers of water, table linen, and towels were kept. The Clerk of the Mouth was associated with the Clerk of the Kitchen in providing the King's food.

Beard is to take care for provisions of wine, bread, beer, linen, etc. John Joyner is appointed Cook, with a query as to whether he should not have an assistant. Mr. Titus is to have £150 put into his hands to make provision for the King's horse, and Henry Firebras and John Redding are "to serve at the back stairs."¹

We have here two names which do not appear in the other list, Sir John Thoroughgood and John Beard. They probably did not take up their appointments and were replaced by Napier and Smith.

It is possible that some of the inferior officers were old servants who had not taken up arms in the war. Most of the others were men who had been in the service of Parliamentary Peers or had served in the Army. The appointments met with favourable comment in a newsletter :

"His Majestie hath now other maner of Table and attendance than formerly, a great many honest godly courtiers and good soldiers, Mr. Herbert, Sir Fulke Grevill, Captain Mildmay Carver, Mr. Harrington of the bedchamber, Mr. Douset, Captain Titus Querrie, etc."²

The writer might have expressed himself differently had he known that Firebrace and Cressett were already Royalists in secret, and that Dowcett and Titus were later to come completely over to the King's side and would take an active part in the business of smuggling His Majesty's private correspondence and in organizing plans for his escape.

In connexion with the King's letters an unfortunate incident occurred on Monday, February 1. Mr. Mungo Murray obtained permission to take leave

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, App. to 4th Report.

² *T.T.*, E, 375 (5).

of His Majesty previous to his departure for Scotland. The King while giving him his hand to kiss, was seen to slip something into his hand. Murray was accordingly followed and searched, and a letter in cipher addressed to Montreuil the French agent, was found upon him. He was kept in custody for two days and then released on security being given to be forthcoming within four days. The letter was sent to the Parliament to be decoded.

Many of the King's cipher letters have been preserved.¹ They are all of the same character, consisting of rows of numerals, each denoting a letter, syllable or word, while blank numerals, or "Nulls," are inserted at intervals to make the deciphering more difficult. The King kept a different cipher for each correspondent, so that the discovery of the key to one letter was no help to the decoding of another, if addressed to a different person. The cipher was also frequently changed, even in writing to the same correspondent. The King had implicit faith in the secrecy of his ciphers, but the Parliament succeeded in decoding all his letters which fell into their hands. The correspondence taken at Naseby is said to have been deciphered for them by Dr. John Wallis of Oxford, a famous mathematician.²

¹ See Examples in Appendix.

² *Life of Dr. Barwick*. Dr. Wallis gives a long example of a cipher letter decoded into French in his *Opera Mathematica*, Vol. III ; *Letter to Menkenius*, 1697.

CHAPTER III

HOLMBY AND HAMPTON COURT

THE King accompanied by the Commissioners, the Royal Household and the Commissioners' Staff, and escorted by 900 horse, left Newcastle on Wednesday, February 3, and reached Holmby on Tuesday, February 16. All along the route and especially on nearing Holmby, the people assembled in crowds to acclaim him, "causing many a smile from his princely countenance," and many of the local gentry and others were present to welcome him when he arrived at his destination. By the direction of a Committee of both Houses, Mr. Clement Kinnersley, the King's Servant of the Wardrobe, had been sent from London with a party of workmen to superintend the preparing and fitting of the house with "hangings, bedding and other wardrobe stuffe and necessaries," and all was ready for his reception.

Herbert tells us that the time passed pleasantly. The King walked in the garden with one or other of the Commissioners, and sometimes rode over to Harrowden, Lord Vaux's house about nine miles away, to play his favourite game of bowls. He had for the present given up all thoughts of escape, but in spite of the vigilance of his guard, a secret correspondence was maintained between His Majesty and his friends. Letters were brought by royalist messengers in various disguises, by ladies who came to kiss the King's hand, or by persons who came to be touched for the "Evil," and were

either handed to the King himself, or given to such of his friends or servants as were known to be loyal. No doubt, Maule, Maxwell and Firebrace did their share, and we now hear that two of the Parliament's trusted attendants were also concerned in the traffic. These were Cressett the Treasurer, and Dowcett, the Clerk of the Kitchen.

Francis Cressett was a gentleman of old family in Shropshire. He was first in the service of the Bishop of Durham, and later entered that of the Earl of Pembroke, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners. After the death of his father and brother, who were both killed while fighting on the royalist side, he became an agent in conveying letters to and from the King, but on the advice of another royalist agent, the Rev. John Barwick, D.D., he remained in Lord Pembroke's service. Thus he not only escaped suspicion, but was able to obtain, through his master, Parliamentary passports for pedlars and others who were engaged in carrying secret correspondence. Lord Pembroke, being unaware of the change in Cressett's opinions, no doubt procured him the post of Treasurer as a man upon whom the Parliament might place complete reliance.¹

Abraham Dowcett, or Doucet, was a Frenchman² by birth. He had been in the King's service as early as 1629, when he went abroad and served there under the Earl of Holland. On his return he was made a Page of the Bedchamber. From the character given to him in the newsletter already quoted, it would appear that he took the side of

¹ *The Life of the Rev. John Barwick, D.D.*, by Dr. Peter Barwick, 1724.

² Thomas Hearne in 1734 was informed by his granddaughter that he was born in Rouen, of which place his uncle was Governor.—*Rawlinson MSS.*, B., 225, f. 1.

the Parliament in the civil war, but according to his own account he rendered good service to the King at Holmby. In his petition to Charles II after the Restoration¹ he claimed that "at the hazard of his life he supplied him with pen and ink when the Commissioners debarred him of them and conveyed letters between him and the Queen and other secret intelligence." It seems incredible that the King should have been deprived of writing materials, but some confirmation is received in a letter written by Nicholas Oudart to Sir Edward Nicholas, dated February 18, 1646/7 :

"The King suffers none of the Commissioners to lodge in his bedchamber, but puts out the candle and bolts the door himself. Some of them write they find no hopes to remove him from his principles. . . . But they permit him not to speake privatly or write to anybody save when themselves are by to heare and see."²

Dowcett therefore must have smuggled ink and paper into the bedchamber, and the King wrote his private letters after he had retired for the night, the only time when he was free from observation.

On only two occasions do we hear that letters failed to be safely delivered. On April 9 Major Humphrey Bosvile, formerly an officer in the Royal Army, in the disguise of a countryman with a fishing rod in his hand, intercepted the King at a bridge as he was riding to play bowls at Boughton, and slipped two letters into his hand. His action escaped notice by the escort, and Bosvile got away to some distance, but a local miller was more vigilant. He refused a bribe to remain silent and gave the alarm. Bosvile was caught and examined.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, Vol. XI, 33.

² *Nicholas Papers*, Vol. I. Edited by G. F. Warner, Camden Society, N.S. 40, 1886.

He admitted that he had come from Paris and had brought letters from the Queen and others, but of the contents he said he knew nothing, except that he had heard from Lady Culpepper that they contained a request from the Prince to be allowed to serve in the war in Flanders under the Duke of Orleans. He was a good type of the neck or nothing Cavalier, for when "it was demanded of him how he dared do such a thing as deliver letters to his Majesty, he answered that if he could not have done it in the way he did, he would have done it openly before them all, if he had dyed for it." The King also refused to divulge the contents to the Commissioners, telling them that "he was not to give account to any man living." Bosvile was sent up to the Parliament, and by them committed to Newgate, and the Commissioners were thanked and "desired their continued care for preventing private correspondence."¹

Another attempt was made about a month later, and it is related in a letter from the Court written by one Roger Corbet.² A lady "calling herself Lady Cave,³ a gentleman's daughter about Stamford," received a letter brought from France by a French gentleman or his servant, and addressed herself to "another gentlewoman in these parts" (her name is not stated), to help her to get it delivered to the King. This gentlewoman proceeded to the house where Captain Abbott, an officer of the Parliamentary escort, had his quarters, and stayed there several nights. Through the landlady, whom

¹ Oldmixon's *History of England, Moderate Intelligencer*, Ap. 8, 10, and 24; *House of Commons Journals*.

² *Thomason Tracts*, E, 388 (16).

³ She was Mary Cave, daughter of Mr. William Cave of Stamford in Lincolnshire.

she probably knew and trusted, she applied to him to procure her permission to kiss the King's hand. Abbott, who is described as "a very honest faithfull gentleman," got her the necessary leave, and on her return home, she recommended Mrs. Cave to adopt the same method. No doubt the latter would have been equally successful, but the gentlewoman had trusted the landlady with the secret of the letter, and she told it to her husband. He, though a Royalist and favourable to the design, dared not run the risk of detection and divulged it to Abbott, who, as in duty bound, informed the Commissioners. Acting on their instructions, Abbott sent Mrs. Cave on to Holmby, where she was arrested, taken into a room, and searched. But she saw her danger, and standing with her back to the wall, managed to slip the letter behind the tapestry. Nothing was found on her. She admitted, however, that she had a letter for the King, and said that it would be delivered. Perhaps she hoped before leaving that she might be able to inform one of the King's loyal servants of its place of concealment, but no chance was given her, for she was sent off to Northampton.

A day or two later the document was found behind the tapestry and handed to the Commissioners. It appeared to be a petition having reference to some goods lost at sea, but on the back was found a letter written in cipher from Ashburnham to the King. It had been brought from The Hague by his servant John Brown. He was also arrested and examined. He stated that he had received it from his master some two months before and had handed it to Mrs. Cave with whom he had become acquainted when the King and Ashburnham stayed with her father on their way to Newark.

Mary Cave stated in her examination that she had received it from Brown and undertook to deliver it. She saw that it was more than a petition, but did not know what it was.

Lords Denbigh and Montagu sent it with copies of the examination to the Speaker of the House of Lords. They also wrote highly commending the conduct of Abbott and stated that they had secured the persons of Brown and Mrs. Cave with the Mayor of Northampton until the pleasure of the House was known.

The letter was deciphered in due course. In it Ashburnham wrote that he had perfected his negotiation with the Prince of Orange, and if peace between Spain and the Netherlands was made, which appeared to be probable, the Prince would certainly land an army for His Majesty's relief. He therefore urged him to stand firm and make no surrender to the Parliament.¹

It is not stated what was done in the case of Brown and Mary Cave. It may be hoped at any rate that the latter escaped further punishment, for as Corbet says "she was a handsome woman and wondrous bold."

It was after these events that Herbert tells us that the old attendants were dismissed, but there is no doubt that they had left at Newcastle. He is, however, probably correct in his statement that it was not till now that he was appointed by the King as a Groom of the Bedchamber, together with James Harrington. Both had been officially appointed to that post by the Parliament, but the King "took it very ill that his old servants were taken from

¹ These particulars are taken from *Ashburnham's Vindication*, Vol. II, p. 164, where the letters and examinations are printed in full.

him ” and it was noticed at Newcastle that he spoke “sharp words ” to some of the new ones. Maule and Maxwell therefore waited on him alone, while Harrington and Herbert followed the Court without doing any service. Herbert thus relates his first interview :

“ His Majesty purposing to send a Message to the Parliament, after dinner he called the Earl of Pembroke ¹ to him, and told him he would have Mr. Herbert come into his chamber, which the Earl acquainting the Commissioners with, Mr. Herbert was brought into his Chamber, by Mr. Maxwell, and upon his knee, desired to know his Majesty’s Pleasure, who told him he would send a Message to the Parliament ; and having none that he usually employed, and unwilling it should go under his own hand, called him in for that purpose. Mr. Herbert having written as His Majesty did dictate, was by him enjoined secresie, and not to communicate it to any, till made publick by both Houses, if by them held meet, which he carefully observed.”

Herbert made a good impression, for about a week after, the King told the Commissioners

“ that he had taken notice of Mr. Harrington and Mr. Thomas Herbert, and being well satisfied with the report he had concerning them, as to their sobriety, and good Education, he was willing to receive them as Grooms into his Bedchamber to wait upon his Person along with Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Mawl, which the Commissioners approving, they were that night admitted, and by his Majesty instructed as to the Duty and Service he expected from them.”

Herbert also tells us that “ Mr. Harrington was a Gentleman well accomplished, had waited upon the Prince Elector Palatine ² in his Chamber, had

¹ Philip, 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery. He was a distant relation of Thomas Herbert, both being descended from Sir William Herbert of Raglan Castle (fl. 1415).

² Charles Louis, son of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, the King’s eldest sister.

travelled Germany, Italy and France, and spake their languages.”¹ He himself had travelled widely in the East, having been attached to the suite of Sir Dedman Cotton, who in 1627 was sent as Ambassador to Persia. Cotton died on the way, and Herbert, after visiting Mesopotamia, came home by India, Ceylon and St. Helena.

Of all the King’s servants Herbert was the only one who was allowed to remain with him to the end. His devotion to his person never weakened through all the long period of trial, but it is noteworthy that in the schemes for the King’s escape, his name is never mentioned. He must have been cognisant of them, but he took no part in them. His loyalty to the Parliament who had appointed him to serve the King, forbade him to take action against it, while his personal devotion to His Majesty made it impossible for him to betray him. All through he observed a benevolent neutrality. Thus he preserved alike the confidence of Parliament and of the King, and was able to do him perhaps more good service by his prudent conduct than did those who plotted to rescue him from his enemies and failed in the attempt.

On June 2, as the King was playing bowls at Althorp with the Commissioners, news was brought to them of the approach of a party of horse. This boded no good, for neither the Commissioners nor

¹ He was a gentleman of old family, the son of Sir Sapcotes Harrington of Rand in Lincolnshire. Though holding republican views he served the King faithfully and was held by him in high esteem. According to Anthony Wood, “His Majesty loved his company and finding him an ingenious man chose rather to converse with him than with others of his chamber, they had often discourses concerning government, but when they happened to talk of a Commonwealth, the King seemed not able to endure it.”

Colonel Greaves, commanding the guard, had had any intimation of their arrival. The King returned at once to Holmby and preparations were made to protect his person. At midnight Cornet Joyce of Colonel Whalley's regiment, in command of about five hundred men, drew up before the house and demanded to speak with His Majesty. His authority he said, was himself. Major-General Browne, one of the Commissioners, ordered the guard to stand to their arms, but the soldiers had opened the gates and bade the new arrivals welcome. Resistance was useless. The Army had won the first round in the struggle with the Parliament for the person of the King. Joyce, armed with a cocked pistol, forced his way to the royal chamber and rudely knocked. The four Gentlemen of the Bedchamber were prepared to sacrifice their lives rather than grant him admittance, and it was only on receiving the word of the King himself that he would not see him until the morning, that he consented to retire.

Next morning the King rose early and having performed his morning exercise, sent for Joyce, who abruptly acquainted him with the commands he had to remove him. The Commissioners, he said, were to return to the Parliament. "By whose appointment?" said the King. But Joyce gave no answer. Charles then asked for his instructions. "That," replied Joyce, "you shall see presently." He showed his troop drawn up in the inner court. "There, sir," said he, "are my instructions." The King took a good view of these, and finding them proper men, well mounted and armed, smilingly told the Cornet his instructions were in fair characters, legible without spelling. Joyce then pressed the King to go with him, which he refused to do unless accompanied by the Commissioners. He

also demanded that he should have his servants and "be properly provided for like a man in his place."¹ To the presence of the Commissioners Joyce was indifferent, to the latter request he agreed.²

Meanwhile the Commissioners, who had been under guard all night, had been set at liberty, and had sent Captain Titus, the King's Equerry, post-haste to London to acquaint the Parliament with this forcible abduction. He reached London the following day, delivered his letter, and was summoned to the Commons to give an account of Joyce's proceedings. He had evidently killed his horse on the journey, for the sum of £50 was voted to him to buy another.³

In the letter Lord Montagu stated that the Commissioners had protested against the removal and appealed to the soldiers to stand by them, but not a man would do so. Had they the necessary force he wrote "they would withstand them to the losse of their lives. But since they were not in a capacity they must acquiesce."

Joyce apparently had no instructions as to His Majesty's destination. Oxford was at first suggested, then Cambridge. Finally, the King named Newmarket, which was accepted, and on the following day a start was made, the King in his coach with the Earls of Denbigh and Pembroke and Lord Montagu, the remainder on horseback.

The night was spent at Hinchbrook House, Huntingdon, and while on the road the next day

¹ *Thomason Tracts*, E, 392 (1).

² This is Herbert's version of the story. Other accounts differ in details.

³ *House of Commons Journals*.

the King and his escort were met by two regiments of Horse under Colonel Whalley, who had been ordered by Fairfax to attend the King. It had been the General's intention that he should return to Holmby, but the King refused, and after some discussion it was decided to proceed to Childerley, near Cambridge, where he was entertained for three days with great hospitality by Lady Cutts. Hither came Fairfax, Cromwell, and other officers of the Army from their headquarters at Kennet near Newmarket, as well as many members of Cambridge University. According to Herbert, Fairfax (unasked) disavowed Joyce's action "as done without his order or approbation but probably by some other powerful officer in the army." Major Huntington states¹ that the King asked both Fairfax and Cromwell whether it was by their or either of their authority that he was thus fetched from Holmby; and they both disowning it, he replied that "unless you hang up Joyce I will not believe what you say." Sir Philip Warwick's account in his *Memoirs* is much to the same effect.

From Childerley the King went to his own house at Newmarket where he remained a fortnight, and here his Chaplains, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Sheldon, with other chaplains and servants, were permitted to attend him. Many of the local gentry and others also waited on him in the Presence Chamber, where he seldom failed to dine in public.

But it was now decided to move the Headquarters

¹ *Narrative of Major Huntington*. It was he who was sent to meet the King with orders to prevent his coming to Newmarket. Berkeley in his *Narrative* states that the author of the design to seize the King was Cromwell "though he pretended not to do it," and that it was carried out by the adjutators in the Army.

of the Army to the neighbourhood of London, and the King was acquainted with the intention to remove him to Hampton Court. He, with the Commissioners and the servants now with him, left on June 24 and following the movements of the Army came by Royston, Hatfield and Windsor, to Caversham. Here Sir John Berkeley and Colonel Legge, who had returned from France, received permission to resume their service. It was during his stay here that leave was given for his children, the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Elizabeth, to visit him. They were now under the care of the Earl of Northumberland, and the meeting took place at the Greyhound Inn at Maidenhead on July 15. At this meeting Fairfax was also present, and a pretty story of his interview with the Princess, then eleven years of age, is told in a contemporary news-letter,¹

“ Letters from the Army tell of the great joy of his Majesty at sight of his children (returned Saturday) and mention this, that immediately upon coming to him, the General came into the Presence, which occasioned some carriage in those that attended his Majesty, which was taken notice of by the Princess, who demanded who he was, and understanding it was the General, she went unto him, and with the greatest of civilities, thanked him for the great happiness she at this time enjoyed, the sight of her dear Father, effected by his alone industry and ingagement ; for which as he should run no hazard, so it should ever by her be acknowledged ; and if ever in her power requitted. He returned humble thanks, saying that he had done therein but the least of those duties he was obliged to serve his Majesty and children in ; and having kissed her Highness’ hand, both made their addresses to his Majesty.”

From Caversham the route lay by Maidenhead to Woburn, and here Ashburnham also came back

¹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, July 19, 1647.

to attend on the King. Here Cromwell and Ireton made propositions on the part of the Army, and the week was passed in negotiations between them and the King, Ashburnham, and Berkeley.

The Palace of Oatlands was reached on August 13, and a stay of ten days was made. The negotiations looked hopeful and many thought that within a week the King would be back at Whitehall, but no settlement was reached and on August 24 he arrived at Hampton Court. According to a letter¹ received from the Court, it was at his own desire, as at Oatlands there was no tennis court, "a recreation he much desires to use for his health." On his way, he dined with his children at Syon House, and another letter dated from there gives us some idea of the difficulties which the household experienced during the long journey.

"What necessity of moneyes is here you have I doubt not sufficiently been advertised by Mr. Cresset. I suppose your Honour cannot but think that it is now full time that his Majesty have a new supply of cloathes and some Jewels and other ornaments for the Royal person. Also for a further supply of Pewter and Pans and Kettles and divers other necessities for the kitchen, of Silver for his Majesty's uses and Linnen and other necessities which are wanted to accomodate his Majesty which I doubt not there will be a large supply of." ²

The King's personal expenses are recorded in full detail in the Exchequer Rolls.³

He cannot have been so badly off for clothes at the time as the correspondent makes out, for in June two sums of £333 15s. and £235 9s. had been paid to David Murray the royal tailor for six suits, coats,

¹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, Aug. 24, 1647.

² *T.T.*, E, 404 (1), Aug. 23, 1647.

³ Exchequer of Receipt, Miscellaneous Rolls, Nos. 167, 168.

cloaks, stockings, gloves, and other articles of attire. However, four suits were paid for in August, and two more plain suits, a "tennis suit of wrought coloured sattin lined with taffeta, a night gown of wrought tabby lined with plush, and a grey cloth hunting suit with necessities suitable," were provided in September. There is no mention of jewels or silver, but three horses were bought for his Majesty's use. The price of one only is mentioned, £70 for a "grey roan."

It is also stated that in June "£100 was paid on account to Mr. Clement Kynnersley, Yeoman of his Majesty's Wardrobe for fitting Richmond House in Surrey with beds, sheets, carpetts and other necessities belonging to the Wardrobe for the reception of the King." This would appear to show that at one time it was decided to take Charles to Richmond, and that, as Herbert tells us, Kynnersley moved the furniture to Hampton Court when the King decided to go there.

For the next two months the King held his Court with some appearance of its former state and dignity. All those who had attended him at Holmby were kept in their respective offices, and Ashburnham, Legge, and Berkeley were permitted to remain. Some of his old servants who had been dismissed also returned, but we only hear of one by name, Mr. Murray, Groom of the Bedchamber.¹ The Commissioners continued in attendance and the Presence Chamber was daily thronged. Royalists mingled with Parliamentary Generals on friendly terms, and in the words of Herbert "there was an amnesty by consent, pleasing, as was thought, to both sides." The King took his

¹ This was Henry Murray, as William Murray had gone to France.

recreation in the tennis court, played billiards,¹ and went out hunting in the Park. The Duke of York was often with him² and he went over to Syon House to see his two younger children. "Halcyon days" indeed, but not long to last. The negotiations in which Cromwell, Ireton, and Huntington had taken part with Ashburnham and Berkeley were broken off. The adjutators in the Army were hot against the King, and he began to fear that they might again make an attempt on his person. He now again began to think of an escape.

But Ashburnham on his return to the King had pledged the Royal word to Colonel Whalley that he would "abide with him." This engagement was withdrawn by Ashburnham about the third week in October, on the ground that he feared an attempt might be made to take the King away. Whalley knowing the impossibility of keeping him should he wish to leave, and not trusting the servants, communicated the intelligence to Fairfax, and asked to be relieved of his charge. His request was refused, though it was agreed that he "could no more keep the King (if he had a mind to goe) than a byrd in a pound."² Whalley also had the promise from the King, made at Woburn, that he would not leave without giving warning.³

About a fortnight before the escape was made, the King's children came to Hampton Court and stayed

¹ "To John Powell for 4 billiard staves with pins, balls and porte provided for His Majesty . . . £6 os. od." Pd. by Warrant, 21 Aug. 1647 (Exchequer Rolls).

² *Moderate Intelligencer*, Sept. 28, 1647.

³ Whalley's letter to the Speaker, Nov. 17, 1647. Sir Philip Warwick describes Whalley as a "crackbrained Phanatick, as well as a crackbrained fellow, tho' he was a gentleman of good family." (*Memoirs*.)

three or four days. Complaint was made that the sentinels on duty in the Long Gallery disturbed the Princess. Whalley refused to shift their position unless the King would renew his engagement. This the King refused to do, saying: "To renew the engagement was a point of honour, you had my engagement, I will not renew it. Keep your guards."¹ The King therefore regarded himself as free from all promises made by himself or on his behalf, and set himself to find a secure retreat.

Ashburnham and Berkeley were dismissed on November 1² but had gone no farther than to Ashburnham's house at Thames Ditton. To them the King sent Legge, who still remained with him, with the suggestion that he should take refuge in Jersey. To this Ashburnham demurred, both as impolitic and impracticable. He recommended London, and to this both Berkeley and Legge agreed.³ It was perhaps in consequence of their decision that Major Huntington, who though an officer of the Army was well disposed towards the King, undertook to find a safe lodging there and did so, "His Majesty determining that as soon as he should get thither, to let the Major have knowledge thereof."⁴

But now we hear of yet another scheme, and we are introduced to a new actor in the drama, a lady who deserves a more extended notice. This was Mrs. Jane Whorwood, the wife of Brome Whorwood, Esq., of Holton, near Oxford.⁵ She was the

¹ Whalley's letter to the Speaker.

² *Clarendon State Papers*.

³ *Narrative of John Ashburnham*.

⁴ *Narrative of Major Huntington*.

⁵ Brome Whorwood was the son of Sir Thomas Whorwood, Knight, of Sandwell Hall, Co. Stafford, who married Ursula, daughter and heiress of George Brome, Esq., of Holton. There

daughter of William Ryder of Kingston-on-Thames, sometime Surveyor to the Stables to King James I, and stepdaughter of James Maxwell, the Groom of the Bedchamber. As a girl, therefore, she would have been admitted to the Court and was well acquainted with the King. After her marriage in 1634 when she was 19 years of age, she went to reside at Holton and was well known in Oxford when the Court was held there. Her influence with Charles is recorded by Sir Edward Nicholas in a letter to Oudart dated February 18, 1646/7, in which he stated that her lover, Sir Thomas Bendish, in getting his appointment as Ambassador to Constantinople, owed more to her efforts on his behalf than to the £3,000 he paid to William Murray.¹ The King also showed his confidence in her before he fled from Oxford by entrusting to her care a casket of jewels to be kept by her till such time as he should send for them.²

were two children of the marriage, a son Brome, who was drowned while crossing the Solent in 1657, and a daughter Diana, who married in 1677 Edward Masters. He died in 1684. —(*Misc. Gen. et Her.* and Anthony Wood's *Life and Times.*)

¹ *Nicholas Papers.*

² In a letter written to Nicholas from Newcastle dated June 24, 1646, the King wrote in cipher: "I desire you to send me word where my Jewells are which 449 had." The cipher numeral 449 is decoded by Nicholas as I.H. In his letter to Oudart he spelt her name "Harwood." I.H. therefore probably stands for Jane Whorwood. But in the key to the cipher preserved in the British Museum (*Egerton MSS.*, 2550, fol. 52), 449 is the cipher for John Ashburnham. There is no cipher for Mrs. Whorwood. The King, before he left Oxford with Ashburnham, may have sent the casket containing the jewels to her by him, and Nicholas knowing that she had them, decoded it thus. She could keep them safely at her own house at Holton. For the later history of the jewels see p. 190.

In person she is described as being tall and well fashioned, with a round visage marked with small-pox, and red hair. No doubt a handsome woman though scarred with the disease from which few then escaped. The letters and diaries of the time are unanimous in their admiration of her courage, loyalty, and organizing power. Anthony Wood described her as "the most loyal person to King Charles in his miseries as any woman in England," and H. (probably Cressett or Firebrace) wrote to the Earl of Lanark on June 27, 1648, "Had the rest done their parts as carefully as Whorwood the King had been at large."

Such was the woman from whom Charles now sought advice as to a safe retreat. The story is told by Lilly the Astrologer.¹

"Upon the King's intention to escape, and with his consent, Madam Whorwood (whom you know very well, Esquire) came to receive my judgment, *viz.* In what quarter of this nation he might be most safe, and not to be discovered until himself pleased. When she came to the door, I told her I would not let her come in to my house, for I buried a maid-servant of the plague very lately. 'I fear not the plague, but the pox,' quoth she; so up we went. After erection of the figure, I told her about twenty (or thereabout) miles from London and in Essex, I was certain he might continue undiscovered. She liked my judgment very well; and being herself of a sharp judgment, remembered a place in Essex about that distance, where was an excellent house, and all conveniences for his reception. Away she went early next morning to Hampton Court to acquaint his Majesty, but see the misfortune. He, either guided by his own approaching hard fate, or misguided by Ashburnham, went away in the night-time westward, and surrendered himself to Hammond, in the Isle of Wight.

"While his Majesty was at Hampton Court, Alderman

¹ Lilly's *History of His Life and Times*. The book is addressed to Elias Ashmole.

Adams sent his Majesty one thousand pounds in gold, five hundred whereof he gave to Madame Whorewood. I believe I had twenty pieces of that very gold for my share."

No doubt the £500 which Mrs. Whorwood received was given her for expenses as one of the Royalist agents, and out of it Lilly got £20 as his professional fee. It was indiscreet on her part to consult him, but to take the advice of an astrologer was the fashion of the day, and though the King did not like Lilly,¹ he allowed her to consult him on two other occasions.

We hear no more of the Essex scheme. It is not mentioned either by Ashburnham or Berkeley. The latter also withdrew his consent to the King going to London, on the ground that the Army would seize his person. The Isle of Wight was the suggestion of Ashburnham who had conceived good hopes of the Governor; how fallacious they were was shortly to appear. According to Firebrace, the King never desired to go there, but the natural indecision of his character prevented him from formulating a plan and impressing it on his followers, with the fatal results we know.

But before relating the story of the escape, it is necessary to get some idea of the disposition of the King's apartments in the Palace. These, together with the Queen's, were pulled down in the reign of William III, and replaced by Wren's South and East fronts, but a rough plan of the configuration of the building has been preserved at Oxford, and its external appearance is shown in

¹ When the King was at Windsor he said to one William Allen: "I do not care for Lilly, he hath been always against me," and became a little bitter in his expressions. (Lilly, *op. cit.*) He does not give the date of this incident. It might have been in July, 1647, or Dec. 23, 1648-Jan. 19, 1648/9.

a picture painted for Pepys in 1669. Of the internal arrangements we have no knowledge, but we may believe that the usual plan was followed of a series of rooms leading from one to another, commencing with the Guard Room near the main staircase at the Western end. At the other end a backstairs led down to the Court below. There was also a long gallery in which sentries were posted, which probably led along the back of the King's apartments and into which some of the rooms opened. In the grounds outside the Palace were several towers and turrets connected by galleries, running in an irregular line from its south-east angle to the river, where was a large building with stairs and a water gate. From this, the "Water Gallery" communicated with another building called the "Great Round Arbour," and behind these "The King's Long Gallery" jutted into the Park in an easterly direction at right angles to the other galleries, at the end of which was a room "most gorgeously furnished called Paradise."¹

It was the King's usual custom on Monday and Thursday to retire to his bedchamber at about two o'clock in the afternoon for the purpose of writing letters to his relatives abroad, and to come out for prayers between five and six. After prayers he supped, and returned to his bedchamber soon afterwards, when the guards were posted. On November 11 he gave strict orders to Maule and Murray, who were on duty in the anteroom, that on no account was he to be disturbed. When it grew dark, which at this season would be about

¹ Law's *History of Hampton Court Palace*. Evelyn in his *Diary* under date June 9, 1662, also states, "There is a parterre called Paradise in which is a pretty banquetting-house set over a cave or cellar."

Hampton-Court



HAMPTON COURT PALACE: THE EAST FRONT

From a painting in the Pepysian Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. By permission of the Master and Fellows

four o'clock, he called for candles, and a little later for snuffers. His bedchamber was probably situated in the centre of the suite of rooms. The anteroom was next to it on the West side, and next to that was a room occupied by Mr. Nicholas Oudart.¹ Beyond the King's bedchamber were several more rooms before the backstairs were reached, and in one of these Firebrace would be on duty as Page of the Backstairs.

At five o'clock Colonel Whalley came to the anteroom for the purpose of escorting the King to Prayers, and there found the Commissioners already assembled. He waited "without mistrust" till six, and then told Maule and Murray that he "wondered the King was so long a writing." They replied that "he had (they thought) some extraordinary occasion." He then went to consult Oudart, who also "wondered that he was so long, but the King had told him he was writing to the Princess of Orange," and this information gave Whalley "some satisfaction for the present." All three were of course in the King's confidence, and were probably enjoying the situation. At seven, Whalley suggested to Maule that perhaps the King was ill, and that it would be well if he entered to see. Maule however replied that he durst not disobey the King's commands, and besides, he had bolted the door on the inside. Whalley, then being

¹ A Belgian by birth, he was brought to England by Sir Henry Wotton. He took a Bachelor's degree at Oxford in 1642, and was appointed Secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, one of the King's Secretaries of State. He attended the King as Secretary at Hampton Court and also at Newport during the period of the Treaty (Sept. 30–Nov. 27, 1648). He was afterwards Secretary to the Prince of Orange.—(Anthony Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*.)

“extreme restless in his thoughts” several times looked through the keyhole, but could see nothing. Maule refused even to knock, and at eight Whalley made up his mind to make an entry himself. The King had now got a good three hours’ start and Maule and Murray could do no more. Whalley then went to Mr. Smithsby¹ the Keeper of the Privy Lodgings, and with him went along the back way, through the garden, and up by the backstairs to the bedchamber. He apparently met no one on the way except his sentries in the garden, so Firebrace, whom we have supposed to have been keeping guard on the backstairs during the escape, had discreetly withdrawn himself.² Passing through several rooms he arrived at the one next to the bedchamber where, to his amazement, he found the King’s cloak lying on the floor. He

¹ William Smithsby was in 1629 appointed a Groom of the Privy Chamber and Deputy Keeper of the Privy Lodging and Standing Wardrobe at Hampton Court. He attended the King at Edgehill in 1642 and was then commanded to go to Hampton Court. After the death of the King he was deprived of his post in favour of “One Kinnersley,” who was probably Mr. Clement Kinnersley, the Yeoman of the Wardrobe. At the Restoration, he petitioned to be restored in his appointment and his petition was granted by a warrant dated Aug. 2, 1660. In it he stated that the night before his escape the King entrusted him with certain pictures and other articles in order that they might be preserved for him. All these, as well as a cabinet containing pictures, gold, etc., he returned to King Charles II. It would appear therefore that he also was let into the secret of the escape.—(From some unpublished MSS. in the possession of a descendant, printed in *Notes and Queries*, 7S. XI, p. 263, 1891.)

² His narrative begins only with his arrival at Carisbrooke. The escape from Hampton Court is only mentioned, but he adds the detail that it was a dark and rainy night, which is not stated in the fuller accounts.

went no farther ; but retired to the Commissioners and told them what he had found. Maule still refused to enter the King's room, and it was only when ordered in the name of the Parliament, and with the proviso that the Commissioners should go with them, that he consented to accompany Whalley. On arriving at the room where the cloak was lying, Whalley desired Maule to enter the King's room. By this time another half-hour or so had been gained, and Maule consented to do so on condition that Whalley stood by the door. Maule then went in and returned saying that "The King was gone." Whalley now at last saw that he had been played with, and in a passion, and knowing that Maule had returned from London only that afternoon, and that it was a very rare thing for him to be away, accused him of being an accessory in the escape. In this no doubt he was right, but the King was far away and all he could do was to send out search parties of horse and foot, and send an urgent dispatch to Fairfax and Cromwell.

From the newsletters we can see how the escape was effected. As soon as it was dark enough to avoid observation, the King, accompanied by Colonel Legge, passed down the backstairs, along the galleries leading to the waterside,¹ and then by the King's Long Gallery to the Paradise² room in the Park, the door of which being some distance away from the main building, was unguarded. We also learn that at about two in the afternoon "six lusty horses, led by men in different habits," were

¹ *A perfect Diurnall*, Nov. 15, 1647. "By the backstairs and vault towards the waterside." The galleries would be so described as having a vaulted roof.

² *Moderate Intelligencer*, Nov. 11-18, 1647. "By way of Paradise, a place so called in the garden."

ferried over from Long Ditton and were seen to take an hill adjacent to his Majesty.”¹ If these horses were intended to be used in the escape, the King and Legge may have ridden to a point opposite Thames Ditton and there crossed the river. Herbert only states that the river was crossed at Thames Ditton, which is only a mile away from Hampton Court. But it is possible that they had a boat concealed near Paradise and rowed down to Ditton, mounting their horses there. According to Huntington, they landed at Ditton, where they were provided with horses.

The King left in his shoes and stockings.² According to some accounts he was in disguise. This is unlikely, but we have seen that he left his cloak on the floor after leaving his bedchamber, so it is probable that Legge provided him with one which was less conspicuous than his own. On a rainy night in November he would not have gone abroad without some outer garment to protect him from the weather. The *Moderate Intelligencer* gives us another interesting detail. It states that when the King did not “come forth there were feares, which increased by the crying of a greyhound again and again within.” This was the “grew bitch” which in the letter left behind for Colonel Whalley, the King asked should be sent to the Duke of Richmond. She was with the King again at Newport and is mentioned in Sir Philip Warwick’s *Memoirs*.

“His dog scraping at the door, he commanded me to let in Gipsey. Whereupon I took the boldness to say, ‘Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better than you do a spaniell!’ ‘Yes’ (says he), ‘for they equally love their masters, and yet do not flatter them so much.’”

¹ *Mercurius Antipragmaticus*, Nov. 11-18, 1647.

² *T.T.*, E, 414 (10).

On the table in the bedchamber were found four letters, three of them in the King's own handwriting. The first was addressed to the Parliament, and gave his reasons for seeking safety "by retiring myself for some time from the publick view, both of my friends and enemies."¹ In the second he gave thanks to Lord Montagu and the rest of the Commissioners for their civilities to him since his coming to Hampton Court. In the third, to Colonel Whalley, he acknowledged the civil treatment he had received from him and Major Huntington, and asked him to dispose of certain pictures as he directed. In a postscript he added, "I assure you that it was not the Letter which you showed me to-day that made me take this resolution nor any advertisement of that kind, but I confesse that I am loathe to be made a prisoner under pretence of securing my life."

The letter shown to him by Colonel Whalley was from Cromwell and in it he wrote: "Dear Cousin Whalley, there are rumours abroad of some intended attempt on his Majesty's person. Therefore I pray have a care of your guard for if such a thing should be done, it would be a most horrid act."² Whalley wrote of it

"And whereas, Mr. Speaker, you demand of me what that letter was that I showed the King that day he went away? The letter I shall show you. But with your leave, I shall first acquaint you with the author and the ground of my shewing it to the King.

"The author is Lieutenant General Cromwell. The ground of my shewing it was this. The letter shows some murderous designe, or at least fearing it, against his Majestie. When I received the letter I was much astonisht, abhorring that

¹ Rushworth, *Hist. Collns.*, ed. 1701, Part IV, Vol. 2, p. 871.

² Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*.

such a thing should be done, or so much as thought of, by any that bear the name of Christians. When I had shewn the letter to his Majestie, I told him 'I was sent to safeguard and not to murther him.' I wisht him to be confident no such thing could be done. I would first dye at his foot in his defence. And I therefore shewed it to him that he might be assured, though menacing speeches came frequently to his eare, our general officers abhorred so bloody and villanous a fact. Another reason, that I might get a nearer admittance to his Majestie, that so I might better secure him."

The fourth letter which the King left on the table is indicative of the "menacing speeches which came to his eare." It ran as follows :

"In discharge of my duty I cannot omit to acquaint you that my brother was at a meeting last night with eight or nine Adjutors, who in debate of the obstacles which did most hinder the speedy effecting of their designes, did conclude it was your Majesty, and so long as your Majesty doth live you would be so, and therefore resolved for the good of the Kingdom to take your life away ; and that to that account they were assured that Mr. Del and Mr. Peters (two of their creatures) would willingly beare them company, for they had often said to these Adjutors, your Majesty is but a dead dog. My prayers are for your Majesty's safety but I do much fear it cannot be whilst you are in those hands. I wish with all my soul your Majesty were at my house in Broad Street, where I am confident I could keep you private till this storm were over, but beg your Majesty's pardon and shall not presume to offer it as advice. It is my constant zeale to your service who am

Yours Majesty's dutifull subject,
E.R."

9 November 1647.

It has been suggested that these initials were merely to conceal the identity of the writer and that he was Henry Lilburne, who was Lieut.-Colonel in his brother Robert's regiment. The designs of the Levellers against the King's life were well known to Cromwell, and he had no mind that he should

fall into their hands. But while there is little doubt that he intended that the King should escape, it was not with the view of getting him into his own power. A more likely hypothesis is that he frightened Charles away to save his life.¹

According to Hobbes, Cromwell was ambitious to get the supreme power himself, which the King, as long as he was on the throne, would never permit. He was therefore an impediment :

“ To keep him in the Army was a trouble, to let him fall into the hands of the Presbyterians had been a stop to his hopes, to murder him privately would have made him odious without furthering his design ; there was nothing better for his purpose than to let him escape from Hampton Court (where he was too near the Parliament) whither he pleased beyond sea.”²

If this interpretation is right, Cromwell's design was upset by the King's throwing himself into the Isle of Wight. The island was strongly royalist, and very lightly held by the Parliamentary forces. Ashburnham, whose suggestion it was, had high hopes of Col. Hammond, whose uncle, Dr. Henry Hammond, was the King's favourite chaplain, but he was also allied through his wife, a daughter of John Hampden, with Cromwell, and though he took charge of Charles against his own inclinations, he soon showed that he was, and intended to remain, a faithful servant of the Parliament. Thus the outcome was that this round was won by the latter, and the struggle with the Army was to continue for another year.

On receiving the news of the King's escape, Maule, Murray, and other near attendants were summoned to be examined. Berkeley and Ash-

¹ Gardiner, *op. cit.*

² Hobbes, *Behemoth* (1679), p. 149.

burnham were sent for, and a strict watch was ordered to be kept at all ports and harbours, and to detain the King and any person who might attempt to pass beyond sea. On receipt, however, of a letter from Hammond on the 15th that he had arrived in the Island, these steps were countermanded. The letter was brought by one of Hammond's officers, Captain Rolph, who received £20 for his services.

The King's journey from Hampton Court may be briefly summarized. A relay of horses was in readiness at Bishop's Sutton, and from there the King and Legge rode on to Titchfield House, near Fareham, where he was received by the old Countess of Southampton, while Ashburnham and Berkeley proceeded to the Island to sound Hammond as to the prospects of a favourable reception. After some conversation with him at Newport, it was decided, though Berkeley dissented, that Hammond should return with them to the King. At Cowes they were joined by Captain Baskett, who commanded the Castle there, and the party went on to Titchfield. By this fatal step, for which Ashburnham was entirely responsible, the King was delivered into the hands of his enemies, a fact which was at once evident to him. "Oh, Jack," he cried, when he heard that Hammond was below, "you have undone me ; for I am by this means made fast from stirring." But the deed was done, and the King had no alternative but to accompany Hammond to Carisbrooke. After passing the night in an alehouse at Cowes, they arrived at the Castle on Sunday, November 14.

CHAPTER IV

CARISBROOKE: THE FIRST ESCAPE

THE Castle of Carisbrooke stands on a commanding hill above the village of that name, about a mile and a half south of the town of Newport. The area contained by the outer enceinte covers some twenty acres,¹ within which, at the north-western end, is the Castle itself surrounded by a curtain wall, with the keep surmounting it to the east. The original fort was probably of late Roman construction, and it may be supposed that it was here that in 530 the Islanders were defeated by the invading Saxons, who gave it the name of *Wihthgarasburh*, the fortress of the men of Wight. In late Saxon times a wooden Hall with solar and other domestic buildings would have been built within easy reach of the keep, and these may have been remodelled after the Norman Conquest. But the defences were still of earth and the buildings of wood, and it is not till about the beginning of the twelfth century that we hear of a "Castle built of hewn stone." The Great Hall now existing was built on the site of the old one by William de Vernun, who held the Castle from 1184 to 1217. It was made anew by the Countess Isabella, widow of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle (1263-93). She also added domestic chambers and a kitchen to the north under the curtain wall, and built the Chapel of St. Peter opening out of the Great Hall. William de Montacute, Earl of Salis-

¹ See Plan A.

bury (1386-97) built the block at the south end of the Great Hall on the site of the old solar, which now forms part of the Governor's house. The last considerable additions were made by Sir George Carey, Governor from 1582 to 1603. He raised the Great Hall by a story, added a mezzanine or intermediate floor in Montacute's building, and dismantled St. Peter's Chapel, converting it into rooms or lobbies on both floors, thus giving means of communication throughout the entire range of buildings. He also added a story over Countess Isabella's building to the north of the Great Hall, built a new kitchen and erected the Chief Officer's House along the curtain wall beyond it.

No additions or alterations were made between 1593 and 1647, but the building had been kept in good condition, and nothing further was needed for the King's reception except the provision of furniture, plate and hangings for his apartment.¹

A survey at the present day, however, shows many changes in the appearance of the Castle, both within and without. John, Lord Cutts, Governor from 1693 to 1706, lowered the level of the Great Hall, and converted the basement into a cellar. He also removed the lobbies in the Chapel and replaced them by the present staircase. His successors were absentees, and a Deputy Governor was appointed who resided in the Governor's House, while the buildings to the north and the Chief Officer's House were allowed to fall into the ruinous state in which we now see them.

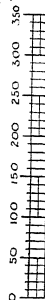
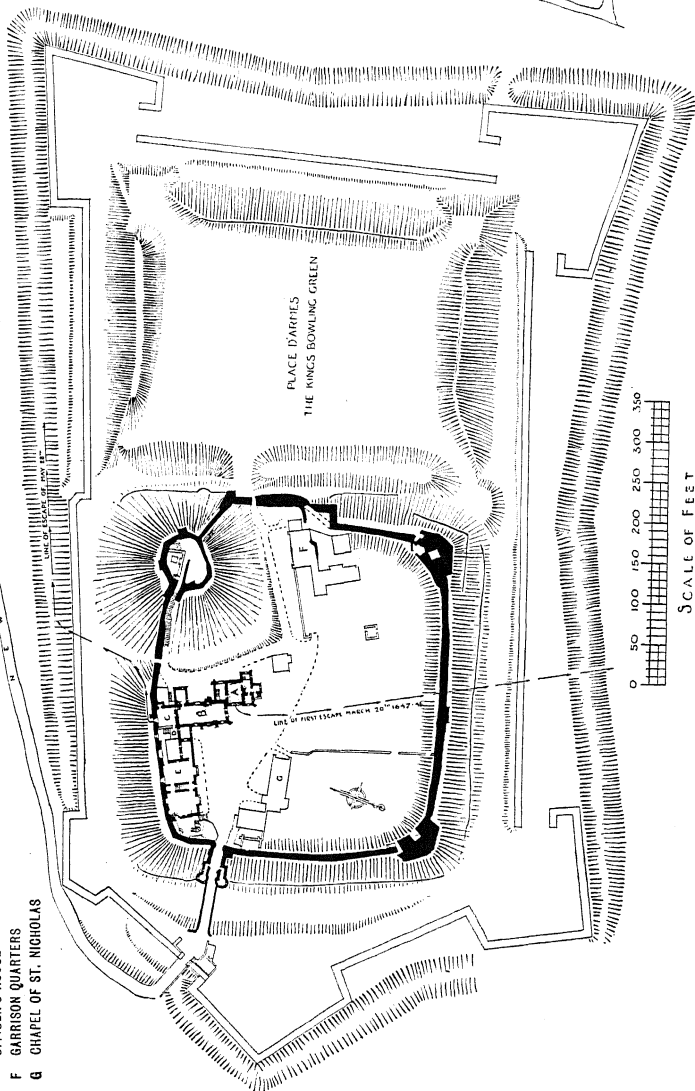
In 1856 the Governor's House was again very

¹ An inventory of furniture, carpets, plate, etc., sold on Oct. 17, 1650, is in the British Museum, *Harleian MSS.* 4898, and is given at length in Hillier's *King Charles in the Isle of Wight*.

CARISBROOKE CASTLE IN 1648.

GENERAL PLAN A.

- A KING'S FIRST BEDCHAMBER
- B CHAMBER OVER GREAT HALL
- C KING'S SECOND BEDCHAMBER
- D BACK STAIRS LEADING TO PRESENCE CHAMBER
- E PRESENCE CHAMBER IN CHIEF
- F OFFICER'S HOUSE
- G GARRISON QUARTERS
- H CHAPEL OF ST. NICHOLAS



SCALE OF FEET

drastically altered and repaired. Carey's mezzanine floor was removed, the Great Chamber being thus restored to its former height, while a new window was put in on the old sill.¹

There is unfortunately no plan in existence which shows the buildings as they were in 1647, and it is not easy to determine which was the bedchamber assigned to the King on his arrival. From contemporary evidence we know that it had a room above and a room below, and that it had two doors, one of which opened on the backstairs. The only building which complies with the first condition is that part of the Governor's Lodging adjoining the Great Hall. This had four stories. The lowest, which is a basement to the west but on the ground level to the east, was used at this time as the Justice Room of the Island.² Above it was the Great Chamber, then the mezzanine floor, and above that several small rooms.

As the King was received as a guest rather than as a prisoner, it is obvious that the best room would be put at his disposal. This was undoubtedly the Great Chamber. It had easy access to the Great Hall, which was used as a Presence Chamber,³ and it also had a door opening on to the backstairs.⁴

On Monday morning, November 15, Hammond

¹ The Governor's House and the Great Hall are now the residence of H.R.H. Princess Beatrice, Governor of the Island.

² The Old Justice Room is now converted into a kitchen. The Great Chamber is used as a dining-room.

³ Herbert states that the Presence was *under* the bedchamber. He may have meant only that it was on a lower level.

⁴ See Plan B. Captain Markland in his *Guide to Carisbrooke* states that the bedroom was on the mezzanine floor. Hillier and Mr. Allan Fea make no mention of the mezzanine addition. They both identify the Great Chamber as the King's bedroom.

summoned the chief gentlemen of the Island to meet him at Newport at nine in the morning, and informed them of the King's arrival and of the measures he had taken for his security. All passages from the mainland had been stopped except at Ryde, Cowes, and Yarmouth, where guards were stationed. The Captains of the local Militia had been summoned to renew their commissions, and all present had been specially enjoined to disperse all gatherings of people or to give him notice thereof. A request that the Island gentlemen might pay their duty to His Majesty after dinner, was granted, and Hammond added "truely I would invite you all to dinner but truely I want extremely fowle for his M^{tie}," a hint which was taken by Sir John Oglander and others, who promised to send him what they had. So after dining in Newport, the King received them at Carisbrooke, and on the Thursday following he visited Sir John at his house at Nunwell.¹

The precautions taken by Hammond were approved by the two Houses, and it was further resolved that no person who had been in arms against the Parliament should be allowed to remain in the Island unless he were a native and had compounded. No person, although an inhabitant, was to come into the King's presence,² and no stranger or foreigner, unless he be a Scot, without direction from the Parliament. A guard was to be provided by Hammond, servants to be appointed, and £500 to be spent on His Majesty's household.

Meanwhile at Hampton Court the staff "stood

¹ Sir John Oglander's *Memoirs*.

² In an autograph note preserved in the Museum at Carisbrooke, Sir John Oglander states: "while His M^{tie}. was in our Island I (most commonly) went to see him once a weeke," so the restriction was not strictly observed.

gazing at one another, and the Master being gone, the diet ceased, so as with sad hearts all went to their respective homes.”¹ Firebrace probably took the opportunity of spending a few days with his wife and daughter in London, but his visit was a short one, for he writes :

“As soon as it was publicly known where his Majestie was, having received a private letter from him to hasten to him, and with what intelligence I could get after I had acquainted his most faithfull friends about London with my going as his Majestie had commanded me ; I got leave of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and his pass to go (for I had still kept out of their suspition).”²

He does not give the date of his arrival, but the list of the Household, which comprised most of those who had served at Hampton Court, was finally approved in the House of Commons on November 23, and £100 voted for the expenses of their journey. The *Moderate Intelligencer* of December 1 announced their coming to Carisbrooke.

“When the new and old attendants came to Court, his Majesty was private, but understanding of their arrival, he came out, shewed cheerfulness, gave them all his hand to kisse, and said they had done well had they brought Hampton Court with them. Mr. Ashburnham and Colonel Leg are with him, also old servants and chaplains.”

The Chaplains were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Holdsworth and Dr. Heywood, whose coming to the Island is noticed in a communication dated November 27. Berkeley had gone to London with letters from the King to Cromwell and Fairfax, but was recalled early in December.

Thus by December 1 the Court was fully established, furniture and other household requisities

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*.

² Firebrace's *Narrative*.

were sent down from Hampton Court, and for a time the King enjoyed comparative liberty, going abroad to view the Island and hunting with Hammond in Parkhurst Forest, while the local gentry were allowed to come to the Castle and many were admitted to kiss the King's hand.

But for all that the King was carefully guarded, and Firebrace on his arrival was unable to get a private interview, but finding in the bedchamber "a very convenient and private place" he there secreted the letters he had brought, of which he "gave him an account that night by putting a note into his hand as he was going to bed." He continues :

"And the next morning, after his retirement, at his private devotions (of which he never fayled) I found his paper in the same place ; by which his Majestie was pleased to express his satisfaction in what I had done, and what he had received ; and directed the continuance of that place and way of converse, which we made use of (for we had no better) for many weeks."

He had, before leaving London, arranged for two "faithful and unsuspected" messengers to travel between the Island and London, and by this means constant communication was kept up with the Queen, the Prince, and many of the King's friends.

In the meanwhile, Ashburnham, seeing the ill success of his rash attempt to bring Hammond over to the King's side, had been urging him to make his escape to France while he still had liberty to go abroad, and by his advice a letter had been written to the Queen to send a vessel to Southampton ostensibly loaded with a cargo of French goods, but with secret instructions to the Captain to obey Ashburnham's orders. The ship duly arrived, and both he and Berkeley tell the story of the attempt and how it failed owing to a sudden change of wind.

Ashburnham's account is the more detailed. He states :

" All things being prepared and adjusted, I told his Majestie if Hee was pleased to goe, I did not doubt but carry him away without interruption. The King with great joy ranne to the window to see how the wind stood by the fane,¹ and finding it perfectly faire, made all haste to draw on his bootes (for Hee had libertie then to ride abroad) and being readie to go out of his Chamber, Hee turned againe to looke upon the fane, when so fatal a mischeefe did attend Him, as it was changed at that instant cleane contrary, and continued so for six dayes together, so as the Barque could not stirr ; at the end of which time Commissioners were sent from the Parliamt to gaine his consent to the foure Bills."

The English Commissioners presented the Bills to the King on December the 24th, and the Scottish ² on the 25th. The King rejected the Bills on the 28th, and all the Commissioners took their departure on the same day. This would make the date of the attempted escape the 18th. Berkeley however dates it on the night or the next morning after the Commissioners' departure, the 28th or 29th, and adds that " on that night the Governor returned from Newport full of fury and locked-up the gates and doubled his guards and went not to bed that night."

It is possible that Ashburnham's story is correct and that the King prepared to make a second attempt on the evening of the 28th or the next morning, when presumably the wind was fair, but that the precautions taken by Hammond made it

¹ The vane would probably have been on the Chapel of St. Nicholas on the other side of the courtyard. The wind must have changed from west to east.

² The Scottish Commissioners were the Earls of Loudoun, Lanark, and Lauderdale, Charles Erskine, and Henry Kennedy.

impossible. When the latter accompanied the Commissioners to Newport he had no doubt got some intelligence of Ashburnham's activities, and was determined to get rid of the three whom he considered his most dangerous adversaries. A few days after the King's arrival he had received instructions to apprehend Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legge, and to send them to London, but had been allowed to defer it on the ground that he would then be unable to keep his Majesty securely unless by making him a close prisoner, which at that time he was not disposed to do. He had since reported to Fairfax the weakness of his garrison, and had received an addition of strength, so was now in a position to enforce his demands.¹ Entering the King's apartments on the morning of the 29th, he peremptorily ordered the three gentlemen and some others forthwith to depart the Castle. The King, on hearing of it, sent for him and a stormy interview ensued. To the question whether it became a man of honour and honesty to deal thus with them who had so freely cast themselves upon him, he replied that both his honour and honesty were in the first place to them that employed him, and that he had the authority of both Houses for his action. He further stated that the King was not ignorant of the cause of it. "If he had done amiss let his head answer for it."²

In face of this resolute attitude there was nothing

¹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, Dec. 31. "The House of Commons were certified by the Generall that Col. Hammond was not in such capacity to keep his Majestie in case he had a mind to go, and that in that respect he had ordered him strength and to keep a strict guard. The Commons debated and did order that his Majestie be secured and that sufficient for that purpose be ordered to the Island."

² *Moderate Intelligencer*, Jan. 5, 1647/8.

to be done. The King's servants after dinner kissed the King's hand and departed with much sadness, Ashburnham bursting into tears. He certainly had the most cause to regret his ill-considered action in bringing his Master into the Island, and must have keenly felt the failure of his plan to repair it. They managed before leaving to tell the King that they left the Captain of the ship and two honest and trustworthy gentlemen of the Island ¹ to assist his escape, and that they would have everything ready on the other side of the water.

Herbert places this incident in the middle of February, but he confuses it with the further dismissals which took place then. There is no doubt that Ashburnham, Berkeley and Legge left in December and that the three Chaplains departed at the same time. He also gives the names of the Chaplains as being Drs. Sheldon and Hammond, but there is no evidence that Dr. Hammond had arrived in the Island.

On leaving Carisbrooke, the King's old servants proceeded to Newport. Leaving Ashburnham and the rest at an inn, Berkeley and Legge went to the house of an acquaintance in the town, where, after staying an hour, they heard a drum beating confusedly, and learnt that one Captain Burley,² with divers others, had risen to rescue the King. They then returned to the inn, where they found Ashburnham making speeches to the people, advising

¹ These were probably Mr. Edward Worsley and Mr. John Newland. (See p. 81.)

² Burley is described as formerly Governor of Pendennis Castle against the Parliament, and now Captain of a ship. [*Thomason Tracts*, E, 421 (24).] Hillier however states that he had retired and was now living in the Island. He adds that the rising was entirely unpremeditated.

them to desist from their enterprise,¹ which, as they consisted chiefly of women and children and had but one musket among them, could have but one result. Berkeley remonstrated with him and urged him not to interfere in any way, on the ground that they themselves might be implicated in the rising. It was well that he did so, for, after the capture of Burley and his associates, an attempt was made to induce the prisoners to accuse them. This, however, failed, and they were allowed to cross to the Hampshire coast. Ashburnham, Berkeley, and Legge then went to Netley Abbey, the seat of the Marquis of Hertford, from which place they kept up a correspondence with the King. At the end of three weeks Berkeley proceeded to France,² but Ashburnham and Legge continued to watch by the shore in the hope that an escape might be effected. The Derby House Committee soon became aware of these activities, and about the middle of May they were taken and confined in Arundel Castle. It was not till August 7 that Ashburnham was exchanged for Sir William Masham on condition that he left the country within two months and in the meantime remained in his own house.³ With them was taken William Levett, who had also served the King at Newcastle.

Burley's mad attempt was easily suppressed. Reinforcements were sent down and the garrison at Carisbrooke strengthened, while a fleet was sent to watch the coast. The only result, therefore, was to make the King's position worse than it was before.

¹ Hillier.

² Berkeley's *Narrative*.

³ *Ashburnham's Narrative and Moderate Intelligencer*, May 19, 1648. Sir William Masham was a prisoner of the Royalists at Colchester.

Burley was tried at Winchester for high treason, found guilty and, in spite of efforts to secure a commutation of the sentence to banishment for life, was executed on February 3, an instance without precedent of a judicial murder, where a loyal though mistaken servant of the King was tried in the King's name for undertaking what he believed to be the faithful defence of his Sovereign.

After the departure of Ashburnham and his colleagues, the Household still numbered thirty-five. A list of them is given in the endorsement of a petition to Parliament for payment of their salaries for the past year.¹ It is dated January 11, 1647/8, and signed by :

A. Mildmay, Carver.

P. Maule, Groom of the Bedchamber.

Henry Middleton, Keeper of the Garden at Whitehall.

Ja(mes) Harrington.

S. Titus.

John Anstie, Gent. Usher.

Fra(ncis) Cressett.

H. Firebrace.

Christo(pher) Muschamp.

Capt. J. Burroughs.

Rob(ert) Preston, Sewer and Keeper of Robes.

Jo(seph) Reading, Page of the Backstairs.

on behalf of themselves "and divers others." The complete list shows that at this date the King's servants included all those who had started with him from Newcastle with the exception of Dr. Wilson, and with the addition of Mrs. Wheeler, Laundress, Mr. Henry Murray, Groom of the Bedchamber, Mr. Thornhill, Groom of the Greate

¹ *Tanner MSS.*

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Chamber, and five others who had been recently appointed.

On February 2, it was resolved by the Parliament that all the officers appointed by both Houses should be discharged, and that the total number, including the servants of the King's servants, should not exceed thirty. It was also decided, probably in reply to the above petition, that "it be referred to the Committee of Revenue to consider of and appoint a satisfaction to those servants . . . that are now to be discharged." On the 18th, it was further resolved that it be wholly left to Col. Hammond "to appoint such persons as shall attend the King not exceeding the number of thirty, and from time to time to place and displace such of them as he shall think fit."

Hammond, now having a free hand, decided to keep only those on whom he thought he could rely. By the discharge of Maule, Henry Murray, and others, the number of the Household was reduced to sixteen. He had already, with the approbation of Fairfax, appointed

"four Gentlemen of approved integritie, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay, Captain Titus, and Captain Preston, constantly to attend the person of the King in their courses by two at a time, who are to be always in his presence, except when he retires into his Bed Chamber, and then they are to repair the one to one door, and the other to the other, and there to continue until the King comes forth again."¹

These appointments were approved by Parliament and the salaries of these four gentlemen were fixed at £200 per annum.²

The King was henceforward a close prisoner.

¹ *Tanner MSS.* Letter to the Speaker, dated Feb. 2, 1647/8.

² Report from Committee of Revenue, March 21, 1647/8.

He is described as "most affected in sorrowful expressions in the departure of Mr. Maul and Mr. Murray . . . and desired them to remember him to the Duke of Richmond. His Majesty's (servants) are brought from 20 (?30) to 16 a meal, the King much overgrown with hair."¹ So the two barbers, Babbington and Napier, had evidently been discharged with the rest.

The latter name is mentioned in a letter from the Derby House Committee dated February 7, in reference to a scheme for the King's escape which had come to their ears.

"The manner thus: by one Napier and a servant of David Murray. The King is to be drawn up out of his Bedchamber into the room over it, the ceiling whereof is to be broke for that purpose; and then conveyed from one room to another, till he be past all the rooms, where any guards are at any doors or windows."

The room over the bedchamber would be the one on the mezzanine story which we know communicated with all the others on that floor. But the plan is nowhere else mentioned, and was no doubt turned down as impracticable.

David Murray was the King's tailor and the assistant would have come to Carisbrooke in connexion with His Majesty's wardrobe, for in the Exchequer Rolls we find that a black velvet suit, cloak, and cassock, a black satin suit and cloak lined with plush, and a scarlet cloak lined with plush with gold and silver buttons, had been ordered on December 16 from Murray, while four suits of apparel are mentioned as being paid for on March 2. In addition to these, at various times during the year 1648 the large sum of £1,635 9s. 6d. is entered

¹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, March 3, 1647/8.

as having been paid for clothing, and £122 2s. od. for boots and shoes supplied in 1647 and 1648. In the matter of his wardrobe, the Parliament was certainly not ungenerous.

By the appointment of the four gentlemen constantly to attend the King, Firebrace's activities in getting access to the bedchamber for the purpose of private conversation and of secreting correspondence, was rendered impossible, but with his usual ingenuity he surmounted the difficulty.

" At length I found favour in the eyes of those appointed by Colonel Hammond to be Conservators, whose office it was by turns to wait at the King's two dores of his Bedchamber by Day, when his Majestie was there and to lodge there by night, their Beds being layd close to the Dores ; so that they could not open untill the Beds were removed.

" The King constantly went into his Bedchamber so soon as he had supped, shutting the Dores to him. I offered my services to one of the Conservators to wait at the Dore opening into the Backstayre whilst he went to supper, I pretending not to sup ; which he accepted of, by which meanes I had freedom of speaking with his Majestie, none being on that side but myselfe, with which his Majestie was very well pleased, directing me to get that libertie so often as I could, which I procured very frequently.

" Then, lest we might be surprised by anyone, too sodenly rushing into the Bedchamber, and so discover the Bedchamber Dore open (for so it was that we might hear each other the better) I made a slit or chink through the wall, behind the Hanging ; which served as well as the opening of the Dore and was more safe ; for upon the least noyse, by letting fall the Hanging all was well." ¹

Plan B shows the arrangement of the doors mentioned. The one opening on the backstairs is the one on the south side, and is still in use. The other is shown opening on to the lobby, which must have been on the same level, or the guard's bed

¹ Firebrace's *Narrative*.

PLAN B.

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ALFRED B YEATES F S A ARCHITECT
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could not have been placed against it. When the lobby was removed in 1856, this door was blocked up and another was made at the other end of the same wall with steps leading down to the level of the Great Hall.

Though the King was now deprived of all his old friends, communication with them and others was kept up by three separate channels. Firebrace had his own messengers, and Cressett and Dowcett had also made arrangements for continuing the work which they had begun at Holmby in smuggling correspondence in and out of the castle. In this they were assisted by Mrs. Wheeler, the King's laundress, and her maid Mary.

These two ladies had already come under the suspicion of Derby House, for Hammond was warned against them in a letter dated January 20. "We are also informed that the King hath constant intelligence given him of all things, which he received by the hands of a woman, who bringeth it to him, when she bringeth his clean linen." This warning was repeated on the 25th, and Hammond was successful on or about February 13 in intercepting a packet of correspondence. It was brought by Major Bosville, who had escaped from prison after being arrested at Holmby, and had resumed his old trade. Being afraid to venture near the Castle himself, he entrusted the packet to a messenger with instructions to hand it to Mary. But having got drunk on the way, and only remembering the name of Mary, the man made directly for the King's apartment instead of going to the servants' quarters. The guard, becoming suspicious, arrested him and found the packet in his pocket. For greater security on the way it was addressed to Captain Mildmay, though we

have no reason to believe that he was in any way implicated. The messenger and Mary were arrested, but Bosvile, getting news of the capture, succeeded in making his escape to France.¹ Hammond sent the letters to the Parliament and they were found to have come from the Queen, Princess Elizabeth, the Duke of York, and from Bosvile himself under the name of Fox.²

Bosvile was acting under instructions either from Cressett or Dowcett, for Firebrace states : " I gave him (the King) severall dispatches every week, and conveyed his safely away, not one at any tyme miscarrying ; which was an infinite blessing of God on my Indeavours."

Mrs. Wheeler and Mary were probably now dismissed, but Hammond as yet had no suspicions of Firebrace, Titus, Cressett or Dowcett. With the last of these the King was already carrying on a secret correspondence. Of these letters nine have been preserved. The originals have been lost, but copies were made by a friend of Dowcett's, James Jennings of Windsor, carpenter to Charles II, and in 1734 by Mr. Philip Harcourt, who sent them to

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ed. by S. R. Gardiner, 1880. C—— to the Earl of Lanark, Feb. 23, 1647/8. " If Oudart and Bosvile were not escaped beyond seas, the one into Holland, the other France, they would hardly have escaped hanging here, Oudart having delivered letters to the Duke of York, persuading him to attempt an escape, and Bosvile having received his answer, which was intercepted at Kairesbrook Castle, with severall other letters from the Queen and others." The writer, " C——," was probably Cressett.

² *House of Commons Journals ; Moderate Intelligencer* of Feb. 18, and Hillier. The latter states that there were also one letter from J. Darley, and two from N.D. The Duke of York, on being threatened with imprisonment in the Tower, surrendered his cipher.

Thomas Hearne. The remainder, some twenty in number, were burnt by Dowcett when he was made a prisoner in May, 1648.¹

The duties of his office were to see to the providing of the King's meals and to be present when they were served. Thus he was often admitted to his presence, but had no opportunity of private intercourse. In letters VII (undated) ² we learn how they arranged a code :

“Nor do I urge an Answer to this, but by Sygne : that is to say, your right hand bare, for the receipt of this ; then if the last Packett you had from me : which was indeed of importance and haste : went awaye upon Monday : lett fall your handkercher : if since (for I am confident it is gone) let fall one of your gloves : besydes, when you have given this Packett to B. (Mary), tell me newes of fresh Sparagos from London : and if she tells you that she believes she will be able to observe my directions ; then tell me newes of Artichockes.”

An innocent conversation confined strictly to the affairs of his department. As a further precaution the King wrote : “You must not take it ill that I look sowerly upon you in publick.”

Letters for the Queen were forwarded by Dowcett's wife who lived at Windsor.³ On one occasion she wrote to the King, but did not sign her name. Letter VI is a reply to his anonymous correspondent.⁴ The last letter, dated February 28, seems

¹ See Appendix B, p. 262.

² The letters are not in their right order. This was probably an early one, and certainly written before Mary was arrested on Feb. 13 or 14.

³ Letter V. “Deliver the bigger of these two unto your wyfe, it is for France, I neede say no more you know to whome.”

⁴ The copy is headed “To Dowcett's wife,” in another hand, probably that of Dowcett himself.

to imply that Dowcett was about to be discharged. He, however, remained on, though later under suspicion, until the attempt to escape on May 28, in which he was one of the principal accessories.

Two other series of the King's secret correspondence have been preserved, the originals of which are in the British Museum. These letters are addressed to Firebrace and Titus.¹ They were not written till after the first attempt to escape on March 20, but some account may be given here of Titus and the remainder of the loyal helpers within and without the Castle.

Colonel Silius Titus, the son of Silius Titus of Bushey, Herts., was born about 1623 and was educated at Christchurch, Oxford. He afterwards became a student in the Inner Temple. At the outbreak of the Civil War, he took up arms for the Parliament, under whom he bore a Captain's commission. Both then and after his appointment as Equerry at Newcastle, he did good service, and up to the time of his becoming one of the "Conservators," appears to have merited the character given to him by Hammond as a man of "approved integritie." He now came over entirely to the King's side and soon gained His Majesty's complete confidence.

The two other loyalists within the Castle were John Burroughs, Gentleman Harbinger and Clerk of the Spicery, and Richard Osborne.

Of the antecedents of John Burroughs we know nothing ; he bore the rank of Captain, and had presumably served in the Parliamentary forces. His offices on the reduction of the establishment no doubt lapsed, and he was then placed in a position nearer the King's person, as he is frequently

¹ *Egerton MSS.*, 1788 and 1533.

mentioned in the letters to Titus and Firebrace. But he took only a minor part in the escapes, and seems to have been dismissed before that of May 28.

Richard Osborne, who now appears for the first time, was the son of Thomas Osborne, Esquire, a gentleman of old family. He was educated by Lord Wharton, and by him was recommended to Hammond to be placed in some near attendance upon the King. Hammond on such a recommendation, could not doubt the fitness of the man, and appointed him a Gentleman Usher. Whether he came with the intention of doing something for His Majesty's service, or was won over by his dignity and kindness, he took an early opportunity of placing a note expressing his devotion, in the finger of one of the King's gloves, which it was his duty to hold while he was at dinner. The King realising his sincerity returned an answer in the same way. and by this means a secret communication was kept up between them.¹

Outside the Castle were the two gentlemen of the Island mentioned by Ashburnham, Mr. Edward Worsley of Gatcombe, a member of one of the leading local families, and Mr. John Newland, a merchant and a member of the Corporation of Newport.

On the coast of Hampshire, as we have seen, were Legge and Ashburnham, whose duty was to have horses ready at any place where the King might decide to land.

With all these communication was maintained, as well as with the King's friends in and near London. Those most frequently mentioned in the letters to Firebrace and Titus are Dr. Frazer, Mrs.

¹ Clarendon. He gives several details about Osborne which are not mentioned elsewhere.

Jane Whorwood, Lady Aubigny, the Countess of Carlisle, and Mr. Low, a London merchant.

Another correspondent appears to have been Dr. John Barwick, who is said to have exchanged a weekly letter with the King through Cressett,¹ but he is nowhere mentioned in the Firebrace or Titus letters, and has no part in the story of the escapes.

Dr. Frazer had been physician to the Prince of Wales, but remained in England after the Prince went abroad. He did good service at this time and later to King Charles II.

Catherine Howard, Lady Aubigny, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, was the widow of George, Lord Aubigny, third son of the Duke of Lennox, who was killed at Edgehill. She had already suffered in the King's cause. Coming to Oxford in 1643 with a pass and the consent of Parliament to transact the affairs of her own fortune with the King, she was asked to convey a small parcel with great secrecy to London and deliver it to the person who should call for it. She was not told what it contained, but only that it concerned the King's service. By some means the Parliament discovered that she had brought the Commission of Array, giving the King's authority to arm the citizens of London against the rebels.² Lady Aubigny was imprisoned, and was in some danger of her life, but succeeded in escaping to Oxford. In 1649 she married Lord Newburgh, the King's Groom of the Bedchamber.³ She is described as "a woman of very great wit, and most trusted and conversant in those intrigues which at that time could be best

¹ *The Life of Dr. John Barwick.*

² Ludlow in his *Memoirs* states that she concealed the packet in her hair.

³ See p. 27, note 1.

managed and carried on by ladies, who with less jealousy could be seen in all companies.”¹

Lady Carlisle² was an intriguer of another calibre. A woman of great beauty and wit, but absolutely heartless, she attached herself to each party in turn and was loyal to none. She was an intimate friend of the Queen, whose secrets she betrayed. After the death of her admirer, Strafford, she attached herself to Pym and the leaders of the Opposition. At the present time she was deep in the councils of the little party of aristocratic Presbyterians, who, though they took up arms against the King, were anxious to preserve the monarchy and eager to come to terms with him. Charles had hopes of making a treaty with the Scots, and it was probably in this connexion that he placed his confidence in her as well as in Mr. Low, who was also trusted by that party, but there is no doubt that the letters in cipher which he wrote to them both were passed to the Committee at Derby House, if not directly, at any rate through the Presbyterians. This was the opinion of Sir Edward Nicholas who in 1654 in a letter to Hyde wrote: “She has been through the whole story of his Majesty’s misfortunes a very pernicious instrument, and she will assuredly discover all things to her gang of Presbyterians who have ever betrayed all to the ruling rebels.”

Of Low, Clarendon gives the following character :

“a man intelligent enough of the spirit and humour of the city and very conversant with the nobility and gentry about the town ; and though he was trusted by the Presbyterian

¹ Clarendon.

² She was Lucy, second daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and widow of James Hay, 1st Earl of Carlisle.

party as a man entirely addicted to them, he took pains to insinuate himself into many of the King's party, which did believe him fit to be trusted in any thing which might concern them. But he was a man of so voluble a tongue, and so everlasting a talker, and so undertaking and vain, that no sober man could be imposed upon by him."

There was one other agent who is marked in Firebrace's list of the King's correspondents as "proved faulty." This was Withering, the Postmaster, to whom letters were given to be forwarded. Through these three and from the few letters that were intercepted in transit, the Committee were later able to send to Hammond early and fairly accurate information of the plans of the conspirators.

But it appears that the King was even now confiding his secret plans, if not to Lady Carlisle, at any rate to one of his Scottish friends, for we find a letter, dated March 7, 1647/8, from a correspondent writing under the signature 349 :

"Before this comes to your hands *the King will have attempted his escape* (not that hazardous way you may probably have heard of, because it was knowne to some of *your correspondents heir*) but by the *assistance of some nowe about him* (and as he *writs*) with great probability of *succes* ; but till ye heere the *successe* you may please *keep it private*." ¹

The addressee's name is left blank. It was probably the Duke of Hamilton's brother, the Earl of Lanark, to whom most of these letters are addressed. The writer may have been Dr. Frazer.

In another letter of the same date ² to the Earl of Lanark, a correspondent signing himself 409 wrote : "*I doubt not if designe faile not he will make his escape and be with you before you can hope it,*

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, edited by J. R. Gardiner. Camden Society, 1880. The words in italics are in cipher.

² *Ibid.*, Addenda, Camden Miscellany, Vol. 9.

soe well have I ordered the business that nothing but *himself can lett it.*"

This letter is attributed by Gardiner to Firebrace, probably because it was he who "ordered the business." But a previous letter from the same correspondent dated February 1 was from internal evidence written in London, and in the letter, quoted above, he says : "*Yours to the King I have sent,*" which shows that it also was not written from Carisbrooke. It is very unlikely that Firebrace was in London on either of these dates, nor is it consistent with his cautious character to confide in more people than was absolutely necessary for the execution of his plans. In the letter of February 1, the sentence occurs : "I had another (letter) which I delivered to your wife concerning my Father," the phrasing of which appears to show that the writer was a person of rank, perhaps Lady Carlisle. She would have been quite capable of taking to herself all the credit of arranging the scheme of escape.

It was therefore probably through the Scots that the Committee got some inkling that a plot for an escape was again on foot, and on March 13 a warning was sent to Hammond.

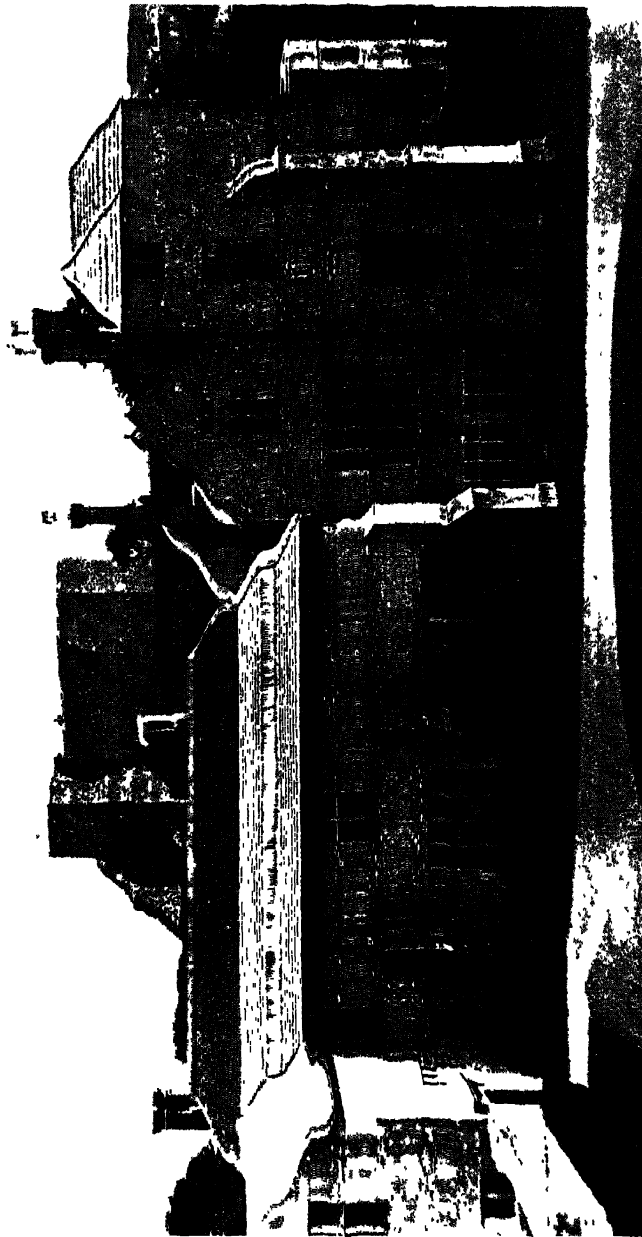
"We have received information, that there are some designs in agitation concerning the King's escape, who is to be carried into France ; and that there are two of those, that now attend the King, upon whom they rely for effecting the escape. Who they are we cannot discover, nor yet what grounds they have to expect their service in it ; yet we thought fit to give you this advertisement, that you might the more carefully watch against it."

The Committee's information was correct as far as it went, but so well was the secret kept that nothing further leaked out until after the attempt

had been made on Monday, March 20. Thus our only authority is Firebrace's *Narrative* in which he gives a fully detailed account.

The plan was devised by him and communicated to the King in their conversations through the chink. It had the merit of simplicity and was based on the fact that Hammond had placed no sentries in the base court of the Castle. If then the King could get out of his bedchamber window there would be no difficulty on a dark night in reaching the great wall on the south side. A reference to an old plan of Carisbrooke in 1741 shows us that the ground now partly occupied by a garden enclosed by a wall, was then an open space, and that a ramp led to the top of the wall so that access was possible at any point. From the parapet there is a drop of some 12 to 15 feet to the ground outside, which then slopes steeply to the ditch, walled on the inner side, but sloping on the outer or counterscarp. Firebrace was to stand beneath the window and give a signal by tossing something against it. The King would then let himself down by a cord given him for that purpose, and be conducted across the court to the great wall, from which Firebrace would let him down by a long cord, a stick being fastened across the end for him to sit on. Beyond the counterscarp and quite outside the Castle, Worsley and Osborne were to wait with a good horse saddled and pistols, boots, etc., for the King. They were to help him up the counterscarp, and nothing then prevented them from riding across country to the sea some ten miles away. Here "in a convenient place"¹ was John Newland with "a lusty boat,"

¹ The place of embarkation is not mentioned by name. It is probable that the arrangements for this escape were the same as for that of May 28. On that occasion they came to



CARISBROOKE CASTLE: THE GOVERNOR'S HOUSE

Showing below the gable the large window from which the attempt to escape was made on March 20, 1647/8

which was capable of carrying him to what port he might think fit. The King in his walks round the ramparts had been often shown by Firebrace the place where he was to be let down, and where he was to get over the counterscarp, and everybody had been instructed in their parts. Thus Firebrace had left nothing undone to ensure success. But there was one weak link in the chain. Was the window wide enough to allow the King to get through? As already stated, the present window is a new one built up on the old sill, and the remains of the original mullions show that the casements were of the same width as the existing ones, about 15 inches. A central bar, of which we can still see evidence by the hole in the sill being filled in with cement, reduced the available space to about 7 inches. Firebrace and the King had a discussion on this point. The King said he could do it, there being room enough. Firebrace feared it was too narrow, the King said he had tried it with his head and he was sure where that would pass, the body

the knowledge of Hammond who in a letter to the Earl of Manchester dated May 29, 1648, wrote that Osborne and Worsley were to conduct him "to a creek where also at the same time lay ready a boat to transport him to the mainland." There are two creeks about half-way between Cowes and Ryde, now known as Wootton Creek and King's Quay. Of these two the latter appears to be the more probable, being smaller and more secluded. Its name is suggestive, but there is no authority for connecting it with Charles I. Two other Kings are said to have stayed in the neighbourhood, John, after Magna Carta, and Henry VII. In Speed's Maps of 1611, 1631, and 1676, and in Lea's of 1695, the name given to it is Shofflet. Grenville Collins in 1693 and Morden in 1700 call it King's Haven. In Avery's Chart of the Sea Coast, 1720, and in later maps, it is called King's Key. The attribution to a "King" therefore seems to date back only to about 1700.

would follow. Firebrace with his usual common sense still doubted, "and proposed a way to make it a little wider by cutting the plate the casement shut too at the bottome which then might have been easily put by." This statement is obscure, but it would appear to mean that the side of the frame in which the casement fitted should be cut, which would slightly increase the width between the bar and the mullion. This frame would have been of iron, and a file would be required to cut it. We know that they had no files, but Firebrace might have had time to procure one, had not the King objected that the cutting might make a discovery, and "commanded" him "to prepare all things else and that, he was confident, would not impede him."

In the face of His Majesty's commands further argument was useless. Firebrace had to keep his doubts to himself, but we may imagine they obtruded themselves as he stood below the window on that momentous Monday night, a night so dark that he could see nothing of what was happening above him. But he says nothing about them, he mentions only the hopes that filled his mind. His *Narrative* continues :

"In the middle of these hopes, I gave the Signe, at the appointed tyme. His Majesty put himself forward ; but then too late, found himself mistaken ; he sticking fast between his breast and shoulders, and not able to get forwards or backwards ; but that at the instant, before he endeavoured to come out, he mistrusted, and tyed a piece of his cord to a bar of the window within. By means whereof he forced himself back.

"Whilst he stuck I heard him groane, but could not come to helpe him : which (you may imagine) was no small affliction to me. So soon as he was in again to let me see (as I had to my grief heard) the designe was broken he set a

candle in the window. If this unfortunate impediment had not happened, his Majestie had then most certainly made a good escape.

“Now I was in paine, how to give notice to those without, which I could find no better way to do, than by flinging stones from the High Wall, where I should have let down the King, to the place where they stayed, which proved effectually, so that they went off and never any discovery made of this.”

So through the obstinacy and self-confidence of the King, all the efforts of his devoted followers were brought to naught and all had to be begun again. The only fortunate part of the unhappy business was that no alarm had been given. Osborne was able to return unsuspected to his duties as Gentlemen Usher, and messages were sent to Newland and to Legge and Ashburnham.

CHAPTER V

CARISBROOKE: THE SECOND ATTEMPT

RUMOURS of an attempted escape are mentioned in the newsletters as early as March 26¹ and it was reported that Colonel Hammond had found out two of the actors in the business who were now in custody. This was untrue, but it appears that some inkling of it came to his ears a day or two after the 20th, for we learn from a letter dated March 28, to the Earl of Lanark from an unknown correspondent signing himself 624:123 : that Cressett had been "discovered by indiscretion and removed, and the business more than suspected."² This is confirmed by a letter written by Hammond to the Speaker on April 22, in which the words occur "since Mr. Cressett, the late Treasurer, went home, which is now more than five weeks." The date of his dismissal was therefore before March 24.

Firebrace also states that "a letter came from Derby House to Hammond to direct him to have a careful eye on those about the King, for that they discovered there were some who gave him intelligence."

This letter is not included in the Derby House correspondence, and possibly Firebrace was mistaken, but whatever the intelligence the Governor received, it was indefinite in character, for his *Narrative* continues :

¹ *Thomason Tracts*, E, 522 (11).

² *Hamilton Papers*, Camden Society, 1880.

"This was a generall suspicion, but they could point at nobody, Hammond got his engines to worke and did pumpe me, so as I heard he did others, but at last he tooke me into examination, and when he could make no discoverie he told me the reason.

"I acquainted the King with all passages, at which he was much troubled, and told me that, if they had a suspition of me they would not leave till they had ruined me ; and would have me gone with his letters to the Prince (his Son our Sovereigne Lord and Master). But I told his Majestie I was confident they could prove nothing against me ; and therefore begged I might stay to see the issue, and that if the worst happened, they could but put me away : and then, I did not doubt but I should be able, some way or other to serve his Majestie."

Here he showed his usual good sense, for by an immediate departure the "general suspicion" would have been at once directed upon himself.

He also reasoned that no details of the plot had leaked out, the only obstacle had been the narrowness of the space between the bar and the mullion, and if he were allowed to remain, the bar might be cut, and a second attempt made.

It is at this point that the secret correspondence with Firebrace and Titus begins. Hammond, now very much on his guard, had stopped, as he thought, all means of communicating intelligence to the King, but he had failed to discover the chink in the wall, and by its means the private conversations at night were continued. In it also were placed the letters for his friends in the Castle and the dispatches to be sent to London. We can see from the creases in the paper that they were folded into a very small compass for the purpose. The replies received were delivered in the same way. There was, however, another method of passing correspondence, which was less safe and was probably only used after Firebrace left. It is mentioned in a later letter to

Firebrace (No. 20) : " Tell F. (Dowcett) when he sees me pull downe the skirts of my Doublet, then he is to looke for something in the pocket."

The first letter to Firebrace was written before Cressett left, and the second probably shortly after his departure.¹ The first deals with the important matter of the bar.

" Some instrument must be had to remove the bar, which I believe is not hard to gett, for I have seene many, and so portable that a man might putt them in his pocket, and yet of force sufficient to doe more than this comes, too : I think it is cald the endless screw, or the great fforce."

Firebrace perhaps was not acquainted with this instrument, or had not the same confidence in its merits, for¹ in his *Narrative* he says only that he " sent for files and Aqua Fortis from London." His agent was Mrs. Jane Whorwood who again paid a visit to Lilly. The latter states : " I got G. Farmer (who was a most ingenious locksmith, and dwelt in Bow Lane) to make me a saw to cut the iron bars in sunder, I mean to saw them, and aqua fortis besides." ²

Pending the arrival of these and of the files which she could buy herself, no letters appear to have passed between the King and Firebrace. The files and acid were dispatched before April 6, for on that date Cromwell wrote a letter to Hammond which shows that not only had the Derby House Committee now received a detailed account of the

¹ Nearly all the letters written to Firebrace and Titus while they remained at Carisbrooke are undated, and in the *Egerton MSS.* no attempt has been made to place them in the proper order. For the evidence on which they are here placed see Appendices C and D.

² Lilly, *History of His Life and Times*. Aqua fortis was nitric acid.

escape, but also had heard of the preparations for another attempt :

“ Intelligence came to the hands of a very considerable person, that the King attempted to get out of his window, and that he had a cord of silk with him, whereby to slip down ; but his breast was so big, the bar would not give him passage. This was done in one of the dark nights, about a fortnight ago. A gentleman with you led him the way and slipped down. The guard, that night, had some quantity of wine with them. The same party assures that there is Aqua Fortis gone down from London to remove that obstacle, which hindered ; and that the same design is to be put in execution on the next dark nights. He saith that Captain Titus and some others are not to be trusted. He is a very considerable person of the Parliament, who gave this intelligence, and desired it should be speeded to you.

“ The gentleman, that came out of the window, was Master Firebrace ; the gentleman doubted are Cresset, Burrowes, and Titus, when this attempt of escape was . . . the twentieth of March.”¹

Hammond had now got the information he required and at once took action. He sent for Firebrace and Titus and informed them that they would be dismissed, but told Firebrace that he might stay three or four days. This act of grace Firebrace suspected was in the hope that in the interval he might commit himself further, and he accordingly acted with such caution that he avoided the trap and succeeded in postponing his departure until April 28. Titus also obtained permission to stay until the 25th. There is no mention of Burroughs, but the King in a letter to Firebrace (No. 3) which was probably written on April 8, wrote “ what is become of T? (Burroughs),” so he was dismissed on the 7th.²

Hammond's position was now not an enviable

¹ Birch's Edition of the Letters between Hammond and the Derby House Committee.

² See p. 269.

one. He had been given warning of the plot, and he had now been told how it was carried out under his very nose, and had only failed through an accident for which he was in no way responsible. Of the four men mentioned in Cromwell's letter, he had only by chance discovered Cressett, and his departure had added to his labours, for he had to take over his duties as Treasurer himself until another could be appointed.¹ Of the three others he had himself boasted that Titus was of "approved integritie." He might well doubt if there were any of the men appointed by the Parliament whom he could trust.

His relations also with the King were getting more and more strained as time went on, and it was now rumoured that they had culminated in a personal altercation in which blows were struck on either side. It was stated that about the middle of March Hammond entered the Bedchamber

"suddenly at two o'clock in the night, and the King suspecting some treachery coming at that unseasonable hour, slipped on his clothes ; and Hammond went readily to his cabinet and searched it, but found not such papers that he looked for, and then endeavoured to search the King's pocket ; but his Majesty resisted and gave him a box on the ear ; and it is said he struck the King again. Upon this violence being offered the King took the papers out of his pocket and thrust them into the fire ; which Hammond attempted to pull out again ; but the King so well guarded them that they were all burned, though in this scuffle it is said the King got a hurt on his face by a knock against the edge of the table."²

The Royalists made the most of the story by publishing a pamphlet on April 12, entitled "The Fatal

¹ Hammond to the Speaker, dated April 22. The new Treasurer appointed was Mr. John Leigh.

² *Clarendon State Papers*.

Blow or the most impious and treasonable fact of Hammond in offering force unto and hurting his Sacred Majesty, discussed," in which the writer stated

"Gaoler Hammond who (notwithstanding his most solemn protestations unto his Majesty to treat him well) promiseth the Parliament that he will obey all their Commands although never so contrary to his sense and honour : *id est*, his former engagements to his Majesty ; so absolute is he their creature. And to shew how true he is unto this last engagement, in his Majesty's late resistance of him in search of some papers, he hath impiously and traitorously wounded his Sacred Majesty."¹

There is a reference to this episode in Herbert's *Memoirs*. He states :

"nevertheless he (Hammond) forfeited the King's good opinion, by that uncomly Act of looking into his Scrutore (escritoire) to 'search for some supposed Papers of Intelligence from the Queen, and correspondency with others, where in he missed his aim. Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert were then in the Green waiting on the King, who finding the weather somewhat cold, the King bid Mr. Herbert go for his Cloak ; and entring the Bed-Chamber, found the Governor ready to come forth, with one other Officer in company, and Mr. Reading, who then waited as Page of the Back-Stairs, and by Insinuation had let him in. Mr. Herbert, as he was returning to the Green with his Majesty's Cloak, gave the Page a sharp Rebuke, which the Governor being acquainted with, threatened Mr. Herbert to give him a Dismiss, for censuring that Act of his ; and without doubt, had expell'd him the Castle, if his Majesty, of his Goodness, had not pass'd it by, without either reproaching the Governour, or taking notice thereof."

Here we see that according to Herbert's recollection, Hammond went into the bedchamber in the daytime during the King's absence on the bowling-

¹ *Thomason Tracts*, E, 522 (16).

green, and as the account is circumstantial, it is probable that the story of the "fatal blow" had no foundation in fact.

Lord Clarendon himself thought the report "somewhat improbable," but it is very likely that Hammond did think it his duty to search for some papers, and it is suggested by Hillier that these were the records of the transactions between Charles and the Scottish Commissioners, which, however, some ten days before had been sent by the King to Ashburnham "to provide for his and their security," and which Ashburnham had "closed in lead and left in Sir Charles Barkley's house."¹

In the letter to the Speaker dated April 22,² Hammond indignantly repudiated the charges against him :

"And considering the strange Reports which have been without the least ground, raised, and as I understand, still continued concerning my Barbarous usage of the King, it may not be unnecessary for me to say to you in my behalf, and I hope among all modest men, the commonsense of this so confident report will in this pleade my excuse, that I have, to the height of my power, given the King upon all occasions, all possible respects answerable to the duty I owe to his person, and the great trust you have pleased to repose in me, and truly, if otherwise, I should be more unworthy than those wicked men who raised this report would make me."

He had indeed lately done something for the King's better recreation (for hitherto he had no other means of exercise than that of walking round the Castle walls), by making a bowling green on the Place d'Armes, situated outside the wall to the north-east. This was completed by April 13, when we learn "that the King was very merry at play

¹ *Ashburnham's Narrative.*

² *Tanner MSS.*

with Col. Hammond the Governor, Major Cromwell, Col. Herbert, Mr. Mildmay and others.”¹

This Major Cromwell was Oliver, the son of Sir Thomas Cromwell of Hinchinbrooke, the eldest brother of the General. He was in command of one of the companies of Infantry in the Castle, and in February had been appointed a Groom of the Bedchamber and Cupbearer to his Majesty at a salary of £66 13s. 4d. per annum.²

In spite of the discovery of the late attempt and the approaching departure of Firebrace and Titus, the preparations for another were resumed on the arrival of the files. The King's first letter to Titus may be dated about Sunday, April 9. It begins “Since your stay is so short heere,” and later he writes “Since D. (Firebrace) must depart,” so Hammond had probably told him of their intended dismissal on that day.³ In this and the next four letters, all written during the ensuing week, he deals with the problem of cutting the bar which for fear of discovery could only be done at night. To give himself more time he said he would go early to bed, but doubted that having nothing but files the time even then would be “too scant.” He regretted the want of the “Forcer” which he had not received and somewhat pathetically asked if Titus could not show him how to make the fire

¹ *Thomason Tracts*, E, 435 (43). A letter from Carisbrooke, April 13, 1648.

² Dr. Frazer to the Earl of Lanark, Feb. 15, 1647/8. “Messenger Cromwell to be one of the Lords in Bedchamber.” (*Hamilton Papers*, Addenda, and Exchequer Rolls.)

³ In later letters, No. 14 to Firebrace, and No. 9 to Titus, the King stated that he first heard of their dismissal on Sunday, April 16, but the sequence of the letters shows that he must have known of it at least a week before. See Appendix C, p. 269.

shovel and tongs supply its place. Titus appears to have evolved some plan to help him, for the King sent him his "cheefe instrument," a file, and asked Firebrace to deliver it to him.

But while the King was thus showing his incompetence as a practical mechanic, the resourceful Firebrace had thought of an alternative scheme which he submitted about the beginning of this same week in one of the two letters written by him which have been preserved (No. 4). He suggested that a man that waited on him, and on whom he could rely¹ was to introduce a man to be touched for the evil.² Over his ordinary dress he was to wear a country grey or blue coat, a pair of coloured fustian drawers, white cloth stockings and great shoes with a white cap. He was also to put on a false beard. Chapman was to pretend great joy to see him and would take him down to the cellar and give him drink, at the same time taking care that the soldiers should notice him. A similar disguise was to be provided for the King, who was to "touch" the man at supper-time. After supper he would retire as usual to his bedchamber, put on the disguise and slip up to a little room upstairs,³ waiting there until Chapman saw a fit opportunity to bring him down and pass him through the gate as his friend.

The King thought well of the plan, but suggested that a previous trial should be made to see if Chapman could pass a friend out without examina-

¹ In letter No. 7 his name is given as Hen. Chap., probably for Henry Chapman.

² This practice is mentioned in a newsletter: "This day His Majesty touched above 20 for cure of the evil."—*Everyday Journal*, April 18, 1648.

³ On the floor above the mezzanine, reached by the winding staircase beyond the ante-room. See Plan B.

tion by the guards. He also disapproved of the false beard, upon which, as he rightly pointed out, "a cleare judgement is easily made." He also consulted Titus who appears to have advised against it. Perhaps on this account, or because Chapman failed to get the friend through the Gate without examination by the Guard when the preliminary trial was made, the scheme was abandoned.

The Derby House Committee continued to send Hammond all the information they received of the new plans. A letter dated April 15 states: "the King hath a bodkin with which he will raise the lead, in which the iron bar of the window stands to put in the *Aqua Fortis* to eat out the iron. Then being got out, he will from the Bowlin Alley cast himself over the works, and so make his escape." They had also heard of another scheme "to fire the Castle, by firing a great heap of charcoal that lies near the King's lodgings; and upon that tumult he to make his escape." There is no mention of the bodkin and *Aqua Fortis* in the King's letters, nor of the proposed fire. They may have been among the plans discussed in the evening conversations at the chink, and which he had passed on to Low or Lady Carlisle. The Committee also on the 18th warned Hammond against Harrington, who we know took no part in any of the plots for an escape.

In other letters dated Ap. 21 and 22, they wrote that a "fat plain man" was to carry to Portsmouth a "hacker . . . on purpose to make the King's two knives which he hath by him, cut as saws." The hacker, together with despatches, were to be sent by a "fisherman or some such other person" on or about Saturday April 22 to Newport where he would be met "by Dowcett, Harrington or some confidee" who would carry them to the King.

Despatches were to be sent back by the same man and Hammond was instructed to send a "faithful man" to Portsmouth there to apprehend the "fat plain man" on his leaving the town.

In the letter of April 22 they showed that they also had some knowledge of Firebrace's alternative plan :

"We are further informed that there is a porter, who useth to carry up coals for the King's Chamber after dinner and supper, who is to carry the King a disguise, which the King is to put on and also the porter's frock and to lock the porter into his Chamber and come down himself, whilst the servants are at supper ; and so pass away."

The details differ somewhat, but the general idea is the same. The porter may not have been Henry Chapman, but the description of him suggests that he was the "little old crumpling man" pointed out by the King to Sir Philip Warwick at Newport during the Treaty.¹

Hammond, alarmed by these repeated warnings and doubtful of the fidelity to the Parliament of any of the King's servants, now determined to remove him from his present quarters and lodge him in others from which escape from the window would be more difficult, and where he could keep a closer watch upon him. He decided on that part of the Castle adjoining the Curtain Wall, which was then in good condition, but which during the following century was allowed to fall into the ruinous condition in which we now see it. The outer wall and a few traces of dividing walls alone remain, but the situation of the Bedchamber and Presence Chamber are known by old tradition and are confirmed by the evidence of the secret

¹ See p. 133.

correspondence and other contemporary authorities. The Bedchamber, now without floor or roof, was situated beyond the large chamber which formed the upper story of the Great Hall. It was on a higher level, but from this chamber a door (now blocked up) and steps gave access to it. From a landing outside, a staircase led down to the floor below, and a passage behind the kitchen led to the Presence Chamber which was in the Chief Officer's House.¹ In the Curtain Wall were three windows, looking out on to the open country, one in the Bedchamber, one on the staircase, and one in the Presence Chamber. These were respectively 10, 6, and 3 feet from the ground outside.²

Firebrace now turned his attention to these windows, and on or about Sunday, April 23, wrote another letter (No. 13) to the King in which he gave him the news of the Duke of York's escape which had taken place on the night of the 21st. He described his new plan as follows :

"In the backstaires window are two casements, in each two barrs, one of the barrs in that next the doore shall be cutt, which will give you way enough to goe out I am certaine.

¹ See Plan B. There is now no trace left of the staircase, but it must have been in the position indicated in the plan for the following reasons : (i) There were only three windows. The other two were in the Bedchamber and the Presence Chamber, and so could not have been on a staircase. (ii) The middle window is the only one with two casements, the others have three. (iii) Firebrace's description of the ground outside is accurate. His only error is that this window is 6 and not 3 feet from the ground. He probably confused it with the one in the Presence Chamber.

² A fourth window may be seen in the wall now. This was put in by Isabella de Fortibus (1262-1293), but was blocked up in 1350. It was discovered and reopened in 1891. Its position is indicated on the plan.

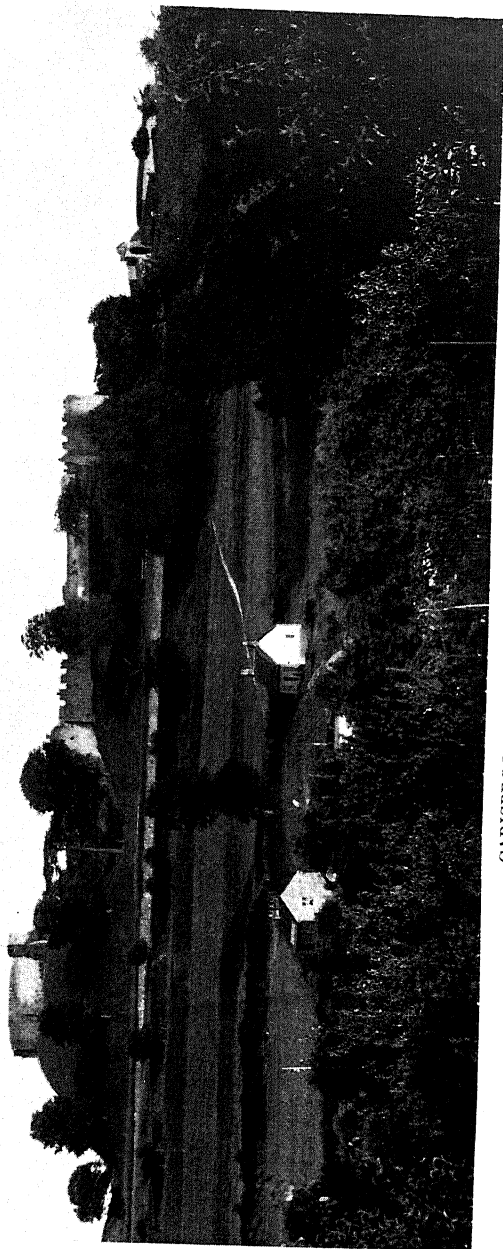
The top of the hill comes within a yard of the casement, soe that you may easily step out and creepe close to the wall, till you come to a hollow place (which you may observe as you walke tomorrow) where with ease you may go downe and soe over the outworkes. If you like this way it shall be carryed on thus. Hen. C. (Chapman) shall cutt the barr and doe up the gap with wax or clay soe that it cannot be perceiv'd. I have already made it loose at the top, soe that when you intend your busines, you shall only pull it and t'will come forth, you must supp late and come up so soone as you have sup't, put of your Geo : (George) and on your gray stockings, and upon notice to be given you by H.C. come into the back-staire and soe slip out, we shall meet you, and conduct you to your horses and from there to the boate. I have tould him of it and hee'l undertake it, therefore leave some of your files that he may try too morrow when you are at bowles. If you intend to try this way I think it not necessary to tell any of it beside Z (Worsley)."

This last recommendation was important, for the last part of the letter deals with a matter which was giving the writer and Titus much anxiety. It was the King's fatal proclivity for communicating all his secret plans to Low and Lady Carlisle, by whom they were at once conveyed to the Derby House Committee. He goes on :

" You keepe intelligence with somebody who betrayes you, for ther is a letter of yours sent to the G. from Darby House (in carracters) where you expresse it in words at length that though they do remove Titus Dowcett and Firebrace yet you dispaire not of your busines (or to that purpose), therfore pray think to whome you writ such a tie and be carefull God knowes what hurt that may do. I shall have a note to you from W (Titus) too morrow. D.

" If you like this way returne the note with your sence."

The King read the letter, and replaced it in the chink with his reply written at the bottom : " Let none know of this way but only Z : Only you must be sure that horses be reddy on the other side of the water. J."



CARISBROOKE CASTLE FROM THE VILLAGE

Showing the proposed line of Escape after the King changed his quarters

The King's indiscreet message to his correspondent had been passed on to Hammond in the letter from Derby House of April 22 : " By a letter in the King's hand he writes that although Firebrace and Titus be discovered yet D : is fast to him, and will do the deed. This D. is Dowcett or such a name."

The contents of this letter were disclosed to Titus by Captain Mildmay. He, like Herbert, appears to have acted throughout as a neutral, friendly to the King but refusing to betray his employers, the Parliament. He never came under their suspicion and later was placed in charge of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester during their confinement at Carisbrooke.

In his reply to Firebrace (No. 14) the King approved of the plan of the backstairs window, but mindful of his former unpleasant experience asked to be told the breadth of it after the removal of the bar, that he might " be sure not to sticke." He placed some files for Chapman in the chink, but kept some for " his bar " which he had the day before begun to work on and made " no doubt to effect it without being perceived." This bar was the one in his old bedchamber from which he still hoped he might be able to escape before he moved into his new quarters. This however was now quite impossible and the scheme was abandoned in favour of that of the backstairs window, with the alternative which Firebrace had given him, of the window in his new bedchamber. " Be carefull," he wrote on April 26 (No. 18), " to make L (Osborne) understand the designe of the Backstaire window as lykewais that other of my window ; that I may leave or chuse as I shall for occasion." In his two letters (Nos. 14, 18) to Firebrace, as well as in a

letter to Titus (No. 9) written in reply to one he received on the 23rd, he dealt at great length with the intercepted message, the truth of which he denied categorically. In the first he stated that since he heard on Sunday April 16 of the intended dismissal of his servants, he had sent but one dispatch containing two letters, and if he said anything of Firebrace or Titus it was in cipher and not to that purpose. It must have been "the rogue Withering" who had discovered how he superscribed his letter and had sent it to the Committee. In the second he suggested that if any betrayed him it must be O. (Low) of whom N. (Mrs. Whorwood) had suspicions. Yet he never wrote anything of moment to him and only made use of him for conveyance of letters and sending news. He ends the letter: "Be as confident of my discretion as honesty, for I can justly brag that neither man nor woman ever suffered by my Tongue or Pen, for any secrett that I have ever been trusted withall."

To Titus he wrote in much the same words, but admitted that he might have said in a letter to the Queen, that although two confidants of his were discharged his service, yet he could still send letters to her, and he suggested that it was more likely that the whole story was concocted "to make the fairer pretence" of dismissing them. He concludes "As they tell it, I will take my Oath it is a lye."

The explanation is not convincing. The King protested too much. There is no reason to believe that the message sent to Hammond was untrue, and only two letters written by him are mentioned, whereas it is stated in the letter from Derby House that "4 or 5 letters were read by an honest man."

The statement about the despatch sent after

April 16 was probably true, but was beside the point, as the letter to Titus (No. 1) shows that he had heard of the dismissal of Firebrace and Titus as early as the 9th. The incriminating sentence about them and Dowcett may have been contained in a letter to Lady Carlisle written during that week, which she had passed on to "the honest man," either Low or one of her Presbyterian friends. The King was in constant correspondence with her and was so convinced of her fidelity to his cause that he does not even mention her name as a suspect.¹ It is characteristic of his want of moral courage that he could not admit the truth even to his best friends who were risking life and liberty in his service. They must have read his letters with sad hearts, but having made their protest could do no more, and continued their efforts to save him even in spite of himself.

Many letters containing final instructions were written to Firebrace in the last two or three days before his departure. He was to "harten" Dowcett whom the King found "somewhat fearefull in your absence." Osborne apparently was of stronger fibre and needed no encouragement.

Firebrace was to make new arrangements for the conveyance of letters to and from London. This was done, for he tells us in his *Narrative* that he "settled such a way of correspondence that his Majestie did not want constant intelligence as before; and had his despatches brought carefully to me; and sent them away with the like good

¹ In a letter to Titus (No. 7) written on April 24 he says: "I think 457 (Lady Carlisle) wishes now well to me but I believe she loves 546, 493 above all things." 493 is a blank, or, as the King calls it, a "null." 546 cannot be deciphered with certainty. It is perhaps Scotland.

success as formerly during the whole time I was from him."

Titus left the Castle on Tuesday, April 25, and proceeded to carry out the King's instructions which were to lay horses "beyond the water" and to see that a ship was ready to take him abroad. In the first he probably had the assistance of Ashburnham and Legge, who were still at or near Netley Abbey, and the second most important matter was already in the hands of that able and energetic lady, Mrs. Jane Whorwood, who had chartered the ship in London. Her arrangements were probably complete by the time he arrived there.

But, as usual, Derby House had already learnt all the details of the King's plans and in a letter dated May 2nd,¹ they were passed on to Hammond :

"There is an intention to get the King away to-morrow at night or Thursday morning, for Sunday (Ap. 30) a ship is fallen down from hence to Queenborough, whereabouts she rides to waft him to Holland. Mrs. Whorwood is aboard the ship, a tall well fashioned and well languaged gentlewoman with a round visage and pock holes in her face. She stays to wait upon the King.

"A merchant is gone from this town last night or this morning to acquaint the King that all things are ready : four horses lie in or near Portsmouth to carry the King by or near Arundell and from thence to Queenborough. A Parliament man or one that was one who liveth near Arundell, is to be the King's guide. The man is supposed to be Sir Edward Alford. The merchant that is come down to the King at Portsmouth is a lean spare young man. The place by which the King is to escape is a low room through a window, or a window that is but slightly made up. He hath one or two about him that are false."

¹ The letter is dated in Birch, May 4th, but the reference to "to-morrow or Thursday" (May 4) shows that it was written on Tuesday, May 2.

An alternative plan of escape, which may have been discussed by Firebrace and the King, is also mentioned :

“ Have a special care of the King’s bowling, lest he be suffered to escape under cover of bowling ; which is the next plot. If this be prevented they will then have a ladder set up to the wall against the bowling alley and horses and a boat ready ; and try that way.”¹

Thus all the preparations for the escape had been made and the date was fixed for Thursday, May 4. Firebrace left the Castle on April 28.² He had letters to take to London, some of which he was to deliver in person, but he had instructions to remain in Newport for some days, and no doubt he wished to be present when the attempt was made. The King moved into his new quarters a day or two later,³ and he proceeded to make an inspection of the backstairs window. It appears from his letter that it had been found impossible to remove the central bar, and the only chance was to squeeze through between that and the mullion. The space afforded was no wider than that in the window of the old bedchamber, and he reported on May 3 :

“ I have now made a perfect tryale, and find it impossible to be done, for my Boddy is too thicke for the bredthe of the

¹ In his letter to Firebrace of April 26 (No. 18) the King mentions “ Worsley’s designe and that of William Legge’s.” This may have been the suggestion of one of them.

² There is no mention in the newsletters or elsewhere of his dismissal. In a letter from the Island dated Ap. 27, the correspondent stated : “ Capt. Titus and Mr. Doucet are come away.” But if Dowcett left it was only for a few days, he was not dismissed.

³ In a letter to Titus (No. 10), he says : “ I have not yet changed my lodging.” He sent it by “ this trusty bearer,” so it was probably handed to Firebrace when he left on the 28th.

Window ; so that unless the midle Bar be taken away I cannot get through : I have also looked upon the other two, and fynde the one much too little, and the other so high that I know not how to reache it without a Lether (ladder) ; besydes I doe not believe it so much wyder than the other, so that it will serve : wherefore it is absolutely impossible to doe anything tomorow at Night : But I comand you harteley and particularly to thanke in my name A : C : F : Z : (Cressett, Legge, Dowcett, Worsley) and him who stayed for me beyond the workes ; for their harty and industrious endeavours in this my service, the which I shall alwais rem(em)ber to their advantage ; being lykewais confident that they will not faint in so good a worke ; and therefore expect their further advyces herein :

J :¹

Wedensday Night.

The window which was "much too little" was that in the bedchamber which had two bars. The third, which was too high to reach without a ladder, cannot have been the one in the Presence Chamber, which is only some three feet from the floor, and would have been out of the question as a means of escape. It was a long way from the bedchamber, in the Chief Officer's House, and Captain Rolphe was in the habit of sitting at the Presence Door.²

¹ This letter is placed first in the *Egerton MSS.* and is referred by Hillier to the escape of March 20. Mr. Allan Fea dates it as "probably Ap. 26," but the date "tomorrow at night" corresponds with the warning given in the Derby House letter that the attempt would be made on Thursday, May 4. It was therefore written on Wednesday, May 3.

² Letter to Titus (No. 6). It is, however, the Presence Chamber window which was formerly always shown as "King Charles's window," and according to tradition it is in that window that he stuck on March 20. Hillier was the first to point out the mistake in 1852, and the official Guides have since confirmed him, but tradition is hard to kill, and in the summer of 1929 postcards of the Presence Chamber window were still on sale, bearing the inscription : "King Charles' Prison Window."

Sunday 30. Apr: 1648.

D; since you fynde that M: hath no good opinion of C:
you must still forbear to let M: know that you or I have
any intelligence with C: I pray you searche diligently
if any of my letters miscaried that I wrote to M: & give me
an account of it; ad ~~also~~ also how W: proceede in our maine
business; if it be possible, let me heare from you once a
Week: I now understand your Cypher; & when I have
matters of much importance I will use it, & so you may tell
me; but let it be but for business & of great secrecy
for I fynde it troublesome: I know you will be careful
of these two inclosed letters; for that to M: I hope
before this cometh to your hand, you will have learned
how to send it; but I desire you to deliver that to M:
with your own hands. ~~I desire that you should send me~~
you send to me, that I may by you receive his letter
forget not to send me as much news as you can.

It must therefore have been a window high up above the backstairs, of which no trace now remains. The King also thanked "him who *stayed* for me beyond the works." The use of the past tense would seem to imply that his followers had been prepared for an attempt to be made on one of the preceding days. It is probable that he meant to have written "was to stay" (on the Thursday night) and the person meant was Firebrace himself. We learn also from this letter that Cressett and Legge were concerned in the matter, and were perhaps in the Island. Dowcett also would appear to have been in Newport at this time, or Firebrace would not have been asked to give him the King's thanks.

Before leaving Carisbrooke, Firebrace gave the King a cipher for use in correspondence between them, which differs from those which were generally used by him, in being alphabetical and not numerical. He replied that he would use it if Osborne could make him understand it. On April 30 he wrote: "I now understand your cypher; and when I have matters of much importance I will use it, and so may you to me; but let it be for businesses of great secresy for I fynde it troublesome." It is only used once in a letter dated August 1. Some time in May he sent Firebrace an improved version ¹ of it, which was preserved by him, but was apparently never used in their correspondence.

After receiving the warning from Derby House of May 2, Hammond constructed a platform outside the window of the bedchamber on which he stationed a guard of three men. Immediately below the window the ground slopes steeply, so it

¹ Appendix C, No. 24, p. 286.

must have been built out on supports.¹ This was an unforeseen complication, and some time elapsed before another attempt could be made. The bar had to be cut and the sentries had to be gained over. The business of bribing the guard was undertaken by Osborne, and in the meantime Titus took up his quarters at Southampton, while Firebrace went to London.

There he was in communication with Mrs. Whorwood, who was waiting with the ship in the Medway off Queenborough. She wrote on May 13 to announce her arrival. Evidently the news of the failure on the 4th had not reached her, as she expressed "grief and wonder" that "our friends" had not yet come, and asked for news. A few days later he received a letter dated May 15 from T. Browne, who appears to have been the Master of the ship. She was known to be under orders for Holland, and had come under suspicion of the authorities ashore when he neglected to take advantage of a favourable wind. He therefore announced his intention of moving "into Margaret Road" (Margate). Firebrace was asked to apprise the King of the change of rendezvous, and instruct him to come to the Reculvers or Birchington where he would meet them with the ship. If however the escape was made before the letter reached its destination, he would post himself at one of the ferries which crossed the Swale and the bearer of the letter at another, so as to stop

¹ Dowcett in his deposition at Rolph's trial stated that the latter waited "almost three hours *under* the new platform." This would appear to confirm the theory that it was built out under the window, and was not in the hollow outside the postern gate to the north, as shown in Hillier's plan.

the party from going to Queenborough and to guide them to Reculver.¹

The ship sailed to Margate, and on the 17th Mrs. Whorwood wrote again in reply to a letter she had received. Apparently Mr. Low had been asking inconvenient questions about the ship, but she had taken care to leave a letter for "N's bedfellow" ² sufficient to satisfy him. Thanks to the contrary wind the ship could remain unsuspected, and she was living ashore. She had "growne in great favour with the Corporation" and "doubted not to have all the civilityes the place is capable to show." She begged Firebrace to hasten the business as she was "lying at very great charge" and "was in more discontents and feares at the prolongation." But her spirit was still undaunted and she concluded: "be confident in no faile in N."

Her character is apparent in the letters. We can imagine her as a woman of resolute nature who knew exactly what she wanted and was accustomed to get it, but with that charm of manner which enabled her to have her own way while conveying the impression that she was conferring a favour. She had also the virtues of integrity and undying loyalty to the King. No wonder that she enjoyed his unbounded confidence and that of Firebrace, whose

¹ The fugitives coming from the S.W. would enter Sheppey at Kingsferry, where the main road from Maidstone and the railway from Sittingbourne now cross the Swale. Three miles to the east is Elmley Ferry, which connects Sittingbourne with the Island. This would probably be the other one mentioned. The third ferry, north of Faversham, would be too far to the east to be of service. Birchington is four and Reculver nine miles west of Margate.

² This is the only time we hear of her husband, Brome Whorwood. He was a Royalist, but took no active part in the plots.

character she also appreciated and whom she always addresses as "My friend."

But we must now leave her exercising her arts on the Corporation of Margate, and return to Carisbrooke, where the preparations for the next attempt were being carried on by Osborne and Dowcett. We have very little information concerning the events during the month of May. The King was very weary of his confinement in the Castle, for he "desired of the Governor if he might pass out of the works, but Colonel Hammond told him he could not answer for the granting of it."¹ On the 16th he wrote to Worsley asking him to take a letter for Titus to Southampton "to one Mrs. Pit's house." We learn from the letter to Titus which is dated May 14 that he had received many letters from his friends, including four from Firebrace, but had no time to send replies.² The necessary business of bribing the three sentries who watched below the window had evidently been successfully carried through,³ for he desired Titus "to begin to waite on Monday next (May 22) and so after for a week together because one night may faile and (? to) accomplish it." He had also decided that he must descend from his own window, as that on the back-stairs was so well watched that it could not be cut.

Worsley carried out his instructions successfully and on May 22 the King wrote to thank him.⁴

¹ *Thomason Tracts*, E, 522 (27). A letter from Carisbrooke, May 8, 1648.

² There is a gap in the series of the King's letters to Firebrace from April 30 to July 10.

³ The amount of the bribe is stated in a newsletter dated June 3 to have been £300 (*T.T.*, E, 446 (24)). An earlier one dated May 29 places it at £1,000 to each. (*T.T.*, E, 445 (25)) £100 to each is probably meant.

⁴ See Appendix F, p. 348.

He wrote again to Titus on the same date, telling him that "Wednesday next" (the 24th) would be the first day on which he would endeavour to escape. He imagined that his plans had been kept secret. After the warning given him by Mrs. Whorwood, he may have been more discreet about divulging them to Low, and he had some suspicion of Lady Carlisle when he wrote to Firebrace on April 27 (No. 19) : "In points of secresie, give no great Trust to E : " Yet he continued to receive letters from her and sent friendly messages to her through Titus, but evidently did not write in reply, as in the two letters of May 16 and 22, he enclosed only three letters, one for the Queen and two for Mrs. Whorwood. But by some means or other the Derby House Committee had got news of what was going on. In a letter to Hammond dated the 23rd, the Secretary wrote :

"The ship lies in the Isle of Sheppy. I have again written to Col. Rainsborough¹ of it. The time is to be Thursday, Friday or Saturday night next, if opportunity serves them right, or about the 4th of June : the ways as formerly resolved on, on which you have formerly had notice."²

Hammond was therefore prepared. The King could not come through the window without the knowledge of the guards below, he had only to wait and catch him in the act. But he was uneasy about the security of the Island. He had only two companies in garrison in the Castle, and he wrote on May 22 asking for permission to raise one or two more, and that his Chief Officer, Captain Rolph, who now commanded one of the companies, should be promoted to the rank of Major. Him he des-

¹ The Admiral in command of the Fleet.

² In the letter of May 2.

cribed as "an honest faithful and careful man and who taketh a great deal of pains, and deserveth encouragement." He had probably also heard something of the mutiny of some of the fleet in the Downs, which at the instigation of the Kentish Royalists,¹ had sailed away to join the Prince of Wales in Holland, and he asked that they might not be left without a sea guard, as the present guard ship was about to go into harbour to victual.

In a newsletter of the same date, we get a picture of His Majesty during these anxious days of waiting. His hair had grown very long and though he had received a case of "very dainty instruments" he would not allow it to be cut because he had not his own barber. He was, however, well and went daily to bowls. "Mr. Herbert and Mr. Harrington, his privy chamber men are weary of their places, for their duty is great."²

Herbert and Harrington were the only ones now left of the old Grooms of the Bedchamber, and so were on constant duty, but Herbert makes no mention of weariness in his *Memoirs*.

The King sent a final letter to Titus on May 24, to tell him that the escape could not be made till Sunday the 28th, as the three sentries who had been won over did not come on duty till that night.

On the Sunday all was ready. Inside the Castle, the bar in the bedchamber window had been eaten away with nitric acid. This was a better method than filing, as it was less easily discovered, and the

¹ They took up arms in defence of the King on May 22, and made a rendezvous at Maidstone on June 2. Had the King succeeded in escaping, he would have found many sympathizers on his way to Queenborough.

² *Thomason Tracts*, E, 522 (31). *A Perfect Diurnall*, dated Carisbrooke, May 22, 1648.

bar when nearly severed could be left in its place, and only pulled away at the last moment. The King had sent for a supply of acid soon after the first attempt in March, but the first consignment was "spilt by the way by accident" ¹ and it was not till about April 22 (No. 11) that he wrote to Firebrace that he had received it. Dowcett was provided with a rope by which he could let himself down from the window, a distance of 10 feet, to the friendly sentries. Outside the Castle Osborne and Worsley were stationed with horses, and John Newland was in charge of the boat at the same place as before. On the coast near Portsmouth Titus waited with horses, and a relay in the charge of Lord Newburgh was posted at a village about three miles from Guildford.² From there the party would make their way by Tonbridge and Maidstone to the ship, which appears to have returned from Margate to the Medway off Queenborough.

The failure of the attempt on this occasion was due to no fault of the King or his followers, nor was it brought about by the foresight of the Governor, for he frankly acknowledged that he knew

¹ Derby House letter of April 21.

² *History of the Troubles in Gr. Britain*, by Robert Monteith (Mentet), translated from the French by G. Ogilvie, 1735. Mentet probably got his information from Lord Newburgh himself, but he mentions only one attempt at escape, and it is possible that he refers here to that of March 20. Newburgh's co-operation, however, is nowhere mentioned in connexion with the first escape, whereas from now onwards, according to Mentet, he took an active part in the schemes proposed. On the other hand, the Derby House letter of May 2 indicated the route to be taken from Portsmouth to Queenborough as by or near Arundel. The distance either way would be about the same, but that by Guildford would have the better road.

nothing about it till the very day on which it was to be made. In his letter to the Speaker dated May 29 he stated :

“ the design had been long in hand, and kept from me until yesterday when two of the soldiers who had been dealt with came to me and acquainted me with the whole business (which I am confident, though I had no knowledge of it, they would have had some difficulty in effecting) ; I suffered and advised them to carry it on as if I had not known it, that so I might discover the whole business with the less pretence of excuse to those unworthy men who were to assist the King in this escape. But being over curious in securing all places in more exact manner than formerly, Mr. Dowcett, by happening on an unusual guard, who at the first apprehended them to be of his own party, but upon examination finding other answer than he expected, made a discovery, which so soon as I understood immediately I secured Dowcett and a soldier who was the chief instrument in this design.”

Hammond here implies that the two sentries came to him during the day, but according to the accounts given in the newsletters, it was not till after they had taken their posts, and within half an hour of the time fixed for the escape, that they decided to betray the plot. Thereupon Hammond immediately went to the King's room,

“ and looking on the bar of the window his Majesty said unto him : ‘ How now, Hammond, what is the matter, what would you have ? ’ To which Colonel Hammond replied : ‘ I am come to take leave of your Majesty for I hear you are going away.’ Then his Majesty laughed and took no further notice of the matter.”¹

Hammond was acting rightly in visiting the King to see that he was safe, but his reply to his Majesty's question was not calculated to improve the relations

¹ T.T., E, 446 (15). *The Perfect Weekly Account*, May 31, 1648.



THE SOUTH WALL OF THE CASTLE

- A. The Window of the King's Second Bedchamber, from which he proposed to escape, May 28, 1648.
B. The Window on the backstairs.
C. The Window of the 2nd Presence Chamber

between them, and it does credit to the King's self-command that he did not lose his temper. The incident, whether it occurred or not, is told by a Parliament man, and certainly shows the King in a better light than the Governor.

Another detail contained in the newsletter was that another person implicated was a barber in Newport, "a very unfit man by reason of his profession to keep counsell." It is very unlikely that anyone outside those already mentioned was entrusted with the secret, but he may have been employed in the carrying of letters to the Castle.

After arresting Dowcett¹ and Floyd, the soldier who remained faithful to the King, Hammond sent to apprehend Osborne and Worsley, both of whom, however, succeeded in escaping. According to a manuscript account drawn up by Worsley,

"they received unhurt the fire of a party of musketeers, supposed to have been placed in ambush by Hammond himself and succeeded in reaching the boat which was to have conveyed the King ; but the master refused to let them embark, they having come without him. On this they were compelled to conceal themselves in the adjacent woods for several days, and procure sustenance in the night by the assistance of a Kinsman of Mr. Worsley, who eventually provided a vessel to take them from the South side of the island."²

They managed to find their way to Firebrace in London where, as he relates in his *Narrative*, he "obscured and preserved them."

In a MS. volume of topographical notes collected in the year 1719 the writer relates a tradition of the attempted escape : "As the King was getting out, a sentinel unluckily espied him, and fired and waked

¹ The rope by which the King was to descend was found in his room.

² Hillier. Worsley's Account has not been traced.

the watch, and so he was prevented ; but the sentinel who fired was afterwards accidentally shot, no person can tell how.”¹ Hillier goes on to say that a stone near the south porch of Carisbrooke Church formerly marked the burial place of one of these men, and that he was named Floyd and was so shot “by Newport.”

The tale of the sentry firing is manifestly incorrect, but it is quite possible that Floyd, the man who stood by his engagement, was shot by the Governor’s orders, and buried in the churchyard at Carisbrooke.

John Newland was arrested on his return to Newport. We find his name mentioned in the Treasurer’s accounts as supplying biscuit and sea-coal for the use of the garrison at the Castle ; so he probably escaped lightly.

None of those who were waiting on the mainland were caught. Titus went to London, and so did Lord Newburgh. Mrs. Whorwood was still at Queenborough with the ship on May 31, when she wrote to Firebrace :

“ I received on the 29th a note from W : (Titus) that he would that day be with mee (he and I faine would have understood the other partyes being at the despatch thereof at Tunbridge in Kent) but his faile thereof hath putt me into great perplexities ; pray send this enclosed away instantly ; and informe mee of all occurrents in relation to our Mr. (Master) more particularly what you conceive to be the occasion of this delay. For longer than one week it will not be possible without manifest and impatible inconveniencies to abide here.”

We hear no more of her until July. On receiving Firebrace’s reply she probably also returned to London, where she would meet the little band

¹ Hillier.

of the King's servants and talk over with them the unfortunate ending of their well-laid plan.

Meanwhile Osborne and Worsley remained in hiding. Worsley waited till the storm blew over and then returned to his home in the Island, but Osborne conceived a plan by which he might help himself and Dowcett by bringing a charge of high treason against the Chief Officer, Major Rolph. During the whole time that he was at Carisbrooke, he had posed as a zealous sympathizer with the Parliament and had acted the part so well that he not only avoided suspicion of his real designs, but succeeded in gaining Rolph's confidence. He now revealed, in a letter¹ to his old patron Lord Wharton, the substance of some intimate conversations which he stated that they had had together. The letter is dated June 1, and must have been written as soon as he arrived in London. In it he brought the following charges against Rolph :

"He informed me that to his knowledge the Governor had received several letters from the Army, intimating the King might by any means be removed out of the way, either by poison or otherwise, and that at another time the same person persuaded me to join with him in a design to remove the King out of that Castle to a place of more secrecy, proffering to take an oath with me, and to do it without the Governor's privity, who he said would not consent for losing the allowance for the house, his pretence to this attempt was, that the King was in too public a place from which he might be rescued, but if he might be conveyed into some place of secrecy, he said we might dispose of his person upon all occasions as we thought fit, and this he was confident we could effect without the Governor's privity."

He justified his action in attempting the King's escape as being an endeavour to remove him from so much danger and stated his readiness to testify

¹ *T.T.*, E, 449 (14).

upon oath "whenever I shall be called to it with the promise of freedom and security."

To this letter Lord Wharton made no reply but kept it in his pocket, and on June 16 Osborne wrote a second letter to Lord Manchester, the Speaker of the House of Lords. The latter took action at once and both letters were read in the House on the 19th. After consultation with the Commons it was agreed that Osborne should have liberty to come within forty days to make good his accusations, and have "free liberty to depart, without molestation, let or hindrance."

On receipt of the news of Osborne's letter, Rolph, "though he had been sick a week before,"¹ came to London and appeared before the Commons on the 23rd. He brought with him a long letter from Hammond, stating that he had sent Rolph "though through weakness he be unfit to travel," that he might inform the House of the great untruths told by Osborne. He also denied the reports regarding his own "inhumane abusing the person of the King," and asked that he might be relieved of his

"intolerable burden (which God and a good conscience only supports a poor weak man to undergo) either by a removal of his Majesty's person from hence when to your wisdoms it shall seem safe and fit or by better providing for it by a person or persons more able to undergo it."

In a postscript he added that he had examined the three soldiers, and that they affirmed that "neither Osborne, Dowcett nor any other" had told them that the King's life was in danger, it being evidently "a device of his own to inflame the people."²

¹ *T.T.*, 669, f. 13, 8. "The case of Major Edmund Rolph truly stated," written by him in the Gatehouse, Aug. 22, 1648.

² *Ibid.*, E, 449 (22).

The letter was read in the House and Rolph was then called in. He denied the charges against him and was allowed to depart. On the 27th Osborne came before the Lords, and on his stating that he was prepared to justify his letter and that he desired Worsley and Dowcett as his witnesses, was bailed in the sum of £5,000.

Dowcett had also been sent to London on the 21st and committed to the prison of Peter House. On July 3 he appeared before the Committee of the Lords. He delivered the following statement in writing :

“ My Lords, I am ready to make oath, that Mr. Richard Osborn told me the King's person was in great danger, and that the said Rolph had a design on foot for the conveying his Majesty's person to some place of secrecy, where only three should go with him, and where they might dispose of his person as they should think fit ; which information from Mr. Osborne, and the assurance I had of his Majesty's intention forthwith to come to this Parliament, was the cause of my engagement in this business.

“ 2. I am ready likewise to depose that the said Rolph came to me when I was a prisoner in the Castle, and in a jeering manner asked me ‘ why the King came not down according to his appointment ? ’ and then with great indignation and fury said, he waited almost three hours under the new platform, with a good pistol charged to receive him if he had come.

AB. DOWCETT.” ¹

This corroborative evidence was sworn by Dowcett, and the House decided to impeach Rolph for high treason. He was accordingly taken from his lodgings where he was lying ill, and lodged in the Gate House Prison. A petition was presented to the Commons by his wife, praying that he might be released on bail, but, although recommended

¹ Worsley, though offered protection by the Lords, did not appear.

by that House, it was rejected by the Lords, who however cancelled the impeachment and ordered that he be tried at the next assizes at Winchester.

These were held on August 28, and Sergeant Wild, who had tried Captain Burley, was sent down to preside. Osborne and Dowcett repeated their former evidence and the Judge addressed the Grand Jury. He spoke very strongly in Rolph's favour and the Jury very quickly brought in a verdict of "ignoramus," or, in modern language, threw out the Bill.

Rolph was brought back to London and released on September 9, and the Commons ordered that £150 be given him by way of compensation.¹ To this, however, the Lords refused their assent. Dowcett was re-committed to the Peter House, but no further action appears to have been taken against him or Osborne. Rolph returned to Carisbrooke and resumed his duties as Chief Officer.

The case thus ended in the acquittal of Rolph by the sole direction of the Judge, the question whether the evidence given by Osborne and Dowcett was true was never decided. An account of the whole affair is given by Clarendon.

He describes Rolph as

"a captain of a foot company, whom Cromwell placed there as a prime confidant, a fellow of low extraction,² and very ordinary parts, who, from a common soldier, had been trusted in all the intrigues of the army, and was trusted as one of the agitators inspired by Cromwell to put anything into the soldiers' minds, upon whom he had a wonderful influence."

He then gives the substance of conversations between Rolph and Osborne, in which Rolph

¹ *T.T.*, E, 463 (5). *The Perfect Weekly Account*, Sept. 6-13, 1648.

² He was a shoemaker in Blackfriars.

suggested that "the King might be decoyed away as he was from Hampton Court, by some letters from his friends, of some danger that threatened him, upon which he would be willing to make an escape ; and then he might easily be despatched." Osborne informed the King of this, and was told to "continue the familiarity with Rolph and to promise to join with him in contriving how his Majesty should make his escape, and he hoped thereby to make Rolph's villany the means of getting away." His story of the attempted escape is in the main accurate, but he states that it was to Rolph that the soldier gave information, and that he told him to stand as sentinel in the place assigned, and "Rolph and some others trusted by him, stood very near with their pistols." He gives no authority for these statements, but it is possible that he met Osborne in Holland later in the year and got his information from him.

Osborne's character is described in a letter from Carisbrooke of July, 1648, evidently written by one of the garrison :

"His carriage and language saintlike when he was in the company of religious men, but when associated with vain persons he was as vain and foolish as they, spending his precious time in tippling, singing, and unprofitable discourses. The day before he should have acted his villainy (May 27) hearing a sermon wherein these or the like words were delivered 'that the heathen philosophers, if they were now living, would abhor those men that are false to their principles and undertakings' ; and afterwards seemed to bless God for so seasonable a discourse, and to be deeply affected therewith ; yet (notwithstanding) he was the most forward man in the design of conveying away the King the night following.

"No man inveighed more against the King's actings and interest than he, insomuch that he was blamed by some, and suspected by others (well affected) upon this ground, as conceiving that a man may be faithful to his trust, and

conscientiously discharge his duty, without bitter reflections upon the adverse party.

“ His expression in the praise and commendation of the army (under Lord Fairfax) and their late acting and proceeding were hyperbolical, as if he had been one of their greatest friends ; whereas, it appears he was one of their most malicious enemies.”

According to this letter, Osborne over-acted his part, but there is no doubt that he completely deceived Rolph, who may very well have confided to him the designs of the army to get the King into their power. On the other hand there is no mention in the letters written before May 28, that the King had any fear that his life was in danger, as we know was the case at Hampton Court. After that date there is only one mention of the escape. In a letter to Titus dated July 10, 1648, he wrote :

“ I have been tould by such as I know will not deceave me, that, of late, this Governor thought with cunning to have screwed out an examination from the King concerning his pretended escape ; for, by way of freedome showing him a letter of Mr. Osborne’s¹ touching that business, the sayd Governor desyred to know of the King, if he had heard Major Rolph say any such thing whereof Osburne accused him, but all the answer the King would give him was : If he knew nothing, he could tell him nothing, or though he knew anything, yet he would tell him nothing ; because his maxime is never to cleare one man to the prejudice of another ; or of his own service ; and be confident, this is all, in substance, that the Governor could gett from the King, concerning this business.”

This looks as if the King could have said more but would not commit himself.

To sum up the whole matter, it would appear that Osborne’s statement contained some truth, but that he over-stated his case in order to justify his actions

¹ The letter to Lord Wharton.

and to do as much harm as he could to his enemy Rolph.

We hear no more of him. He probably went to join the Prince in Holland, for the King, who never forgot his friends, in'a letter from Newport to his son, dated November 6, 1648, wrote : " If Osborne (who has been in troble for me about one Major Rolphes business) comes to you, use him well for my sake." ¹

¹ This letter is in the Museum at Carisbrooke.

CHAPTER VI

THE TREATY OF NEWPORT

SINCE the King's arrival at Carisbrooke, his situation had steadily grown worse, and in June it reached its low-water mark. By the dismissal of Osborne and Dowcett he had lost the last of the faithful servants who had worked for his deliverance. No one was left with whom he could discuss his secret plans, and, worst of all, his means of communication with his friends in London and abroad had broken down. It had been his one delight and consolation in his misfortunes to receive news from outside, and the decoding of the cipher letters he received, and the writing of replies, either in code or in the old-fashioned hand which we see in the letters to Firebrace and Titus, had occupied many of the weary hours of his imprisonment. Only his books were left. Herbert, in whose charge they were, gives us a list of some of them :

“ The Sacred Scripture was the Book he most delighted in, read often Bp. Andrews Sermons, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Policy*, Dr. Hammond's Works, Villalpandus upon Ezekiel, etc., Sands' *Paraphrase upon King David's Psalms*, Herbert's divine Poems ; and also *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, writ in Italian by Torquato Tasso, and done into English Heroick Verse by Mr. Fairfax, a Poem his Majesty much commended, as he did also *Ariosto* by Sir John Harrington, a facetious Poet, much esteemed by Prince Henry his Master ; Spenser's *Fairy Queen* and the like, for alleviating his spirits after serious studies. . . . In many of his Books he delighted himself with the Motto ‘ Dum Spiro Spero, ’ which he wrote frequently as the Emblem of his Hopes.”

Herbert also tells us that it was now that the King "composed his book *Suspiria Regalia*," published soon after his death, and entitled *The King's Pourtraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, which Manuscript¹ Mr. Herbert found amongst those books His Majesty was pleased to give him. This is the book published under the name of "Eikon Basilike," the authorship of which by the King has been much disputed. Herbert states that he did not see him write it "his Majesty being always private when he writ," but on comparing it with known specimens of the King's handwriting he was induced to believe it was in his own hand. He instances another work which the King showed to him and Harrington at this time, a translation of "Bishop Saunderson's the late Bishop of Lincoln's Book *De Juramentis*, or like title, concerning Oaths, and writ with his own hand."²

Thus, though deprived of his favourite occupation of reading and writing letters, he managed profitably to occupy his time, and when tired of writing and reading books, we may imagine him sitting at his window, now again securely barred,³ and looking out on the fair prospect spread before his eyes, in the foreground the village of Carisbrooke with its ancient church, and beyond it the fields stretching away to Parkhurst Forest in the distance. Would he ever ride there again in freedom? "Dum Spiro Spero" was his motto.

¹ See p. 175.

² The book here mentioned is probably *De Obligatione Conscientiae* printed in 1647. The translation is also ascribed to the King by Anthony Wood, but according to John Toland, it was done by Harrington at the King's command. (Preface to his edition of *Oceana*, 1700.)

⁴ The holes in the sills show two bars in each casement.

Though his friends were cut off from him he would not lose hope. Surely they would yet find a means to rescue him from the hands of his enemies.

But before an escape could be thought of it was essential first to reopen the channel of communication, and this was effected before the end of the month. By some means or other a trusty woman servant had been introduced into the Castle, whose duties took her daily into the King's bedchamber. She could neither read nor write, and the King rarely saw her, but a secret place was found in which she placed the letters she brought and from which she took his replies¹ which were carried to Newport and from there passed on to our old friend Major Bosville on the mainland. By him they were taken to Titus in London.

On July 1 the King wrote to Titus expressing his delight at the result of his efforts :

"I have newly received yours of 22 June, for which I know not whether my astonishment or my joy were the greater ; for indeed I did dispaire of hearing any more from you, or any other of my ffriends, during these damnable tymes, without blaming anything but my owen misfortune ; which makes one the more obliged to your kindness, and industry for having found meanes to convey a letter to me."

On the 10th he wrote again to Titus, in which he mentioned his conversation with the Governor about Osborne and Dowcett,² and on the same date he also wrote to Firebrace, from whom he had received three letters. He asked him to commend him particularly to Osborne, Worsley and Dowcett "Assuring them that though I have been pumpt, yet I neither have, nor will, say anything that may prejudice them."

This is the last in the series of letters to Titus.

¹ Hopkins Letters, Nos. 9, 23, pp. 325, 332. ² See p. 124.

From those written to Firebrace we learn that he had received letters from him, and he sent messages to him, but he appears not to have written to him again. On the 21st he tells Firebrace of an incident which had amused him :

“ I cannot but tell you of an accident (which we Royalists take for a good omen) which was, that the Governour, upon Wednesday last, walking close by the King, upon a slip, fell flat on his backe, not at all disordering the King’s pase, more than by lafing at the falle.”

Firebrace had now organized his own service of couriers, and the King received regularly letters from the Queen, Mrs. Whorwood, and Lady Carlisle.

In accordance with Hammond’s request for reinforcements, 500 men arrived in the Island about the end of June,¹ and by the end of July he had “ five companies of gallant resolute foot with their faithful officers.”² But he considered that this force was still insufficient to keep the King in safety in view of the possibility of a landing in the Island by the revolted ships, and had asked for “ 300 horse and 1500 foot at the least.”³ According to popular report even the Parliament’s ships at Portsmouth were not trustworthy, the sailors there, as also the people in the Island, crying out “ not for the King and Parliament, but for the King and the ships.”⁴

With the resumption of his correspondence the King had recovered his spirits, and we hear that he was “ well and merry.” The weather, which had been very bad, had mended, and he was able again to play bowls. He also took great interest

¹ Derby House letter, dated June 23, 1648.

² *T.T.*, E, 453 (11). Some of these were Island Militia.

³ Letters to the Speaker and Fairfax, dated June 23, 1648.

⁴ *Moderate Intelligencer*, July 20, 1648.

in a "fine Banqueting House" which was being built beside the Bowling Green.¹

But he had yet another reason for cheerfulness. A scheme for an escape was again on foot. In this Firebrace and Titus had no part, nor is there any reason to think that they knew anything about it. We hear of it in a series of letters² written by the King to William Hopkins, the Master of the Grammar School at Newport, of which the first is dated July 12. From this letter and subsequent ones we gather that Hopkins sent a paper to Charles on Monday, July 10, in which he gave a sketch of his plan. The paper was brought to the Castle by a lady, indicated by the number 47, who had succeeded in obtaining a private interview with him. She is frequently mentioned in the letters and was probably Hopkins's wife. It appears to have been proposed to raise the Royalists in the Island, surprise Carisbrooke and arrest Hammond, and convey the King away by means of a boat as in the other attempts. In the second letter, dated July 14, the King wrote: "I do well approve of Marlborough to be a chief Conductor, as for matter of Action, for I am confident of his Courage and Honesty; so, if the business is well laid, he may do as well as any other." The reference appears to be to Henry Ley, 3rd Earl of Marlborough (1618-85). He had been General of the Ordnance and Admiral in Command at Dartmouth in 1643. In 1645 he attempted to found a colony at Santa Cruz in the West Indies, but the settlers were driven out by the Spaniards, and he returned to England.³

Hopkins also arranged a system of couriers to

¹ *T.T.*, E, 453 (42).

² See Appendix E., p. 320.

³ *Complete Peerage* and *D.N.B.*

London, of which the King availed himself for the purpose of sending letters to Firebrace, whom he disguises under the name of David Griffin. In writing to Firebrace he is equally reticent; Hopkins is never mentioned. He sends his dispatches by "the unknown way" or "by my way," giving as a reason: "because those of your conveyance never gives account when my Packets goes away; so that I (am) still in feare of their not going untill the answer comes from you."

Hopkins was also able to send letters abroad by a courier who is designated under the number 52. He may have been Nicholas Oudart.

Among the letters sent to Firebrace in July are two dated the 24th and 26th. They were evidently intended to be handed by him to another person who is designated by a numeral. The larger part of both letters is in a cipher, to which no key appears to have been hitherto found. Among the Hopkins letters is one (No. 53) signed "Hellen." Part of it is in cipher, and the writer states: "which to unlock, my dear Friend 391 (upon my request made to him) will I know lend you his key." A note by Wagstaffe at the head of this letter states that "the cipher was decyphered by the King himself, and what is written over the figures is in the King's own hand." On comparing the cipher in this letter with that in the two letters written on July 24 and 26, it was found that they were identical. We know that each of the King's correspondents had a separate cipher, it is therefore evident that these two letters were written by the King to the person who wrote the letter signed "Hellen."¹ With the assistance of the key sup-

¹ The two letters from the King are printed in full in Appendix C, Nos. 32 and 35, and Hellen's letter on p. 151.

plied by the King, the two letters have now been decoded. It would appear that that lady had written to the King expressing a desire to obtain a private interview with him, and two schemes are proposed by which she might be surreptitiously introduced into his bedchamber. It can also be proved by the evidence of other letters that the lady was Mrs. Whorwood. The terms of the letters show that Charles regarded her with great affection.

He was now in his forty-eighth year. She was thirty-seven. We know that he must have known her from childhood. We have evidence of her influence over him at Oxford, and it was to her that before his flight he confided a casket of jewels for safe keeping. She had attempted to visit him at Holmby, but had failed to get nearer than Northampton.¹ She came to see him at Hampton Court, and during the whole period of his imprisonment at Carisbrooke he kept up a constant correspondence with her. In his letters to Firebrace and Titus he never failed to express his confidence in her loyalty and zeal in his service.²

There is no evidence that Charles was ever unfaithful to his wife, and yet these letters are

¹ Letter from Sir E. Nicholas to Oudart, dated March 4, 1646/7: "Mrs. Whorwood herself with all her father's boldness and art dares adventure no farther than Northampton." By her "father" is meant her stepfather, James Maxwell, Groom of the Bedchamber at Holmby.

² She had contributed a large sum of money in the early years of the war. In the account of moneys received and paid by Ashburnham from April 1, 1642, to Oct. 26, 1643, we find the following entry: "From Mrs. Whorwood for P.P. (? Privy Purse) and others at times £6,041 0. 0." (Appendix to *John Ashburnham's Narrative and Vindication*, by George, Earl of Ashburnham, 1830.)

such as might be written by a lover to his mistress. It would appear when she came to Newport that she did not respond to his advances as he would have wished, for in a letter to Hopkins dated August 13, he wrote : " to say truth her Platonick way doth much spoil the Taste in my Mind." ¹ According to Sir Edward Nicholas she had another lover in Oxford, Sir Thomas Bendish.² There is no mention by him or Lilly that she was other than an intimate friend of the King. But it was four years since the Queen had left him, for nine months he had had no female society, the friends to whom he could speak his inmost thoughts had been taken from him, he was lonely and depressed in spirits. As he told Sir Philip Warwick when he met him later in Newport, the best companion he had at this time was a little old crumpling man who made his fires.³ He longed for a woman's voice and a woman's sympathy, and what more natural than that he should turn to one of his oldest and truest friends. He may have had her in his mind when he sent the improved cipher to Firebrace in May, and wrote below it a short sentence in the code, with the interpretation : " Commend me to my Mistris."⁴

Mrs. Whorwood on receiving the letter of July 24th, wrote to Firebrace on the 27th :

"ffinding upon the discyphering thereof our masters letter as to the satisfaction of him in the contents of it, could not soe suddenly challenge an answer I was willing to decline it, but having in some sort acquir'd the meanes to doe it, I have now wrote and intreat your speediest convey thereof."

She added that she must have some conference with him first and asked him to come and see her

¹ Letter No. 25, p. 333.

² See p. 51.

³ Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs*.

⁴ See p. 286.

that evening as she proposed to go out of town next day.

Her letter reached the King on the 29th, for on that day he wrote to Firebrace : " I believe that N. is gone to see a friend," and on August 3 he wrote to Hopkins :

" Having this day been visited by a Friend, with whom I had not time to speak unto, I must desire you, to deliver this inclosed Note unto her : assuring you, that you may freely trust her in any thing that concerns my Service ; for I have had perfect tryal of her Friendship to me. I have no more to say, but that the speedy delivery of this to Mrs. Whorwood (who is the Friend I mentioned) will be no small courtesy."

She had therefore arrived in Newport by that date and had gone to the Castle, but the private interview which he had proposed had not been found possible. Hopkins made arrangements for her accommodation at Newport, for which the King thanked him, and he also entrusted her with the secret of the proposed escape, but owing to the opposition of the Governor it was some time before she succeeded in getting access to His Majesty. Meanwhile, daily letters were exchanged both with her and Hopkins. On August 20 he wrote that he had a quarrel with N. and Mrs. Hopkins for being at the Castle on the day before and not seeing him. Apparently Hammond was again the obstacle, for the letters of the next three days record the King's opinion of him : " A pox on 50 (Hammond)," he wrote on the 21st, " for I believe the Devil cannot out-go him neither in malice or cunning." On the 23rd : " I have received N's sad story ; and seriously I could not have believed that so much Barbarity could have been in any body, that pretended to be Gentle-

man," and in a letter written the same evening : " Certainly all sort of Barbarity is to be expected from 50."

Mrs. Whorwood, however, matched her wits against the Governor, and on the 28th managed to effect an entry in spite of him. We hear of it in the King's letter of the 29th : " Thank her for the visit she stole upon me yesternight, for seriously I could hardly believe my own eyes when I saw her." The way she did it is not divulged, but it was of her own contriving, for on the 30th he wrote : " Tell N. that I shall be willing to see her to-morrow her own way ; and so after dinner shall expect your key."

But the private affairs of the King and Mrs. Whorwood have carried us beyond the point to which the main story had arrived. On July 18 a pamphlet¹ was printed purporting to be His Majesty's Declaration that Colonel Hammond had been very civil and respectful to him, that he was a man of trust and therefore they should not credit the scandalous reports about him, and hearing that Osborne had unjustly and ungratefully aspersed the Governor, His Majesty was pleased to tell him that as touching the preservation of his person from poison or any other design, he was so confident of the honesty and faithfulness of the Governor that he thought himself as safe in his hands, as if he were in the custody of his own son.

This highly imaginative report appears to have been written by one Tobison, and was published to quieten the people of London, who were highly incensed against Rolph when Osborne's accusation was made public. Firebrace sent the pamphlet to

¹ T.T., E, 453 (9).

the King, who in his reply on August 1 gave his real views on the matter :

“ As for Tobison’s report, it is such a nonsense ; noboddy can believe it ; for although the King does suspect the Governor would murther him ; must it therfor follow, that he lykes his base imprisonment, certainly he hath not beene bred up in such a cedentary lyfe, that he lykes to be Coopt up ; nor is he of so indifferent a disposition, as to be content to have no boddie about him that he can with anie reason trust.”

His confinement must have been particularly irksome at this time, as even his relaxation on the bowling green was denied him owing to the weather. This summer was the worst known for forty years, rain, high winds, and storms followed one another and in August they had not one dry day.¹

But apart from the weather, the month of August brought an improvement in the King’s prospects. On the 5th three Commissioners waited on him at Carisbrooke² with a proposal for a personal Treaty at Newport, where the King should enjoy the same freedom that he had had at Hampton Court. They were accompanied by two of his old servants, Titus and Babington his barber.³ The latter must have been especially welcome, for since he had left in February the King had never allowed his hair to be cut. Titus returned with the Commissioners on the 10th after leaving some letters with Hopkins, the receipt of which were acknowledged by Charles in a letter to Firebrace dated the 14th.

¹ Sir John Oglander’s MS. Notes preserved in the Museum at Carisbrooke.

² Herbert’s *Memoirs*.

³ *House of Lords Journals*, Aug. 3 and 4, 1648.

The proposed treaty was agreed on both sides, but it was not till September that the King was allowed to leave the precincts of the Castle. On the 22nd he wrote to Firebrace: "particularly desyre H. (Mrs. Wheeler) to hasten hither; thank her for the botes (boots) she sent me, but such is the rigidness of the Governor, that as yet no use can be made of them." On Tuesday, September 5, he wrote to Hopkins: "I intend this afternoon to be at Newport," but it was not till the following day or the day after that he arrived there. According to an account in one newsletter, "The King's Majesty was set at liberty on Wednesday September 6 at Sir William Hodgesse (Hopkins) house at Newport in the Isle of Wht.,"¹ but another states: "On Thursday (7th) his Majesty intended (if Hammond would suffer him) to remove from Carisbrooke to Newport, where a house is made ready for him to treat in."² The order revoking his restraint was made in the Parliament on the 6th³ but Hammond would not have allowed him to go before he received the necessary authority, and it could not have reached him before the 7th. The King also wrote to Hopkins on "Wednesday night, September 6," "I could not but give a chiding to N., for not paying me a visit with the rest of the Ladies this night." But the ladies may have waited on him after his arrival, and the note was perhaps written in his house at Newport.

By the terms agreed on, the King was allowed to choose the persons who were to attend him during the Treaty, subject to the approval of Par-

¹ *T.T.*, E, 463.

² *Ibid.*, E, 463 (6); *Mercurius Elenctichus*, Sept. 6-13, 1648.

³ *House of Lords Journals*.

liament, and on August 21 he had submitted the following list :

Duke of Richmond	Gentlemen of my Bedchamber
Marquis Hertford	
Earl of Lindsay	
Earl of Southampton	
George Kirke	Grooms of my Bedchamber
James Levington (Lord New- burgh)	
Henry Murray	
William Legg	
Jo. Ashburnham	
Thomas Davis	Barber
Hew Henn	Pages of my Backstairs
Hum(phrey) Rogers	
William Levitt	
Rives	Yeoman of my Robes
Sir Ed. Sidnam	Querries (Equerries) with 4 or 6 of my Footmen as they find fittest to waite
Robert Tirwitt	
John Housden	
Mrs. Whiler, Laundress, with such Maids as she will choose	
Persons	A groome of my Presence
Sir Foulke Grevill	To waite as they did or as I shall apoint them
Cap. Titus	
Capt. Burroughs	
Mr. Cresset	
Hansted	
Ab. Doucett	
Firebrass	
Bishop of London	Chaplains
Bishop of Salisbury	
Dr. Sheldon	
Dr. Hamond	
Dr. Oaldsworth	
Dr. Sanderson	
Dr. Turner	
Dr. Haywood	
Sir Tho. Gairdner	Lawyers
Sir Or: Bridgeman	
Sir Ro. Hobourne	
Mr. Je. Palmer	

Mr. Tho. Cooke

Lawyers

Mr. John Vagham

Sir Ed. Walker

Clarkes and Writers

Mr. Ph. Warwick

Nic. Oudart

Char. Whitaker

Peter Newton and

To make ready the House for
Treating.

Clement Kinnersley

The King added :

" I desyre, in order to one of your votes, that ye would send me a free passe for Persons, one of the Grooms of my Presence Chamber, to goe into Scotland, and that ye would immediately send him to me, to receave his Dispache thither."

The list was agreed to by the House on August 31 with the following exceptions: Abraham Dowcett (under restraint), Drs. Sheldon, Hammond and Holdsworth (under restraint), Mr. John Ashburnham (standing in the first exception for pardon), Mr. William Legge (under restraint).

It was also agreed that Parsons should have a pass to go to the King and into Scotland.¹

In making up his list the King inserted the names of all his servants who had been concerned in the plots to escape, with the exception of Osborne, who had probably already gone abroad. On August 22 he had written to Firebrace: " thanks A. and T. (Cressett and Burroughs) for their Newes and bid them be confident that the King in Nomination of his attendents (I know his disposition so well) will not forget one of those who were discharged for his sake; and that he will not name any of those who are now aboute him." He wrote again on the 29th: " You being one of the King's list I suppose you will repaire hither, wherfore I

¹ *B.M. Add. MSS.* 11252, fol. 7, and *House of Commons Journals*.

desyre you that before you come away you leave such order behinde you as I may not loose my intelligence.”¹

It will be noted that His Majesty kept his word about not having any of those who were at that time in attendance. Not even Herbert is mentioned, but the latter gives a detailed account of the proceedings at Newport, and both he and Harrington, as well as Mildmay, were in waiting on November 30, when the King was taken to Hurst Castle.

An unsigned letter dated August 30 from a Gentleman in Carisbrooke Castle to an Honourable person in Westminster,² appears to have been written by one of the Household who expected to be included. He expressed his indignation at the selection of those who had assisted in the escapes, who were “such as he was by no means forced to nominate since he might have had the choice of many others of more unblemished and unspotted reputations.” He also feared that Charles might again be planning an escape.

“I wonder,” he writes, “what the King means by sending for so many riding suits and so many horses sent to him unless there were strong hints of such a designe.”³ “But they will object that he hath passed his royal word not to depart within 20 days of the treaty: but I pray you why

¹ In a postscript the King wrote: “I wonder who R. is, not having that letter in my list.” It is not in either of the lists of code letters preserved by Firebrace. It was perhaps a mistake for P, which in one list is assigned to Ne(Newburgh.)ⁱ

² *T.T.*, E, 463 (4).

³ The Exchequer Accounts show that eight suits of clothes together with cloaks, etc., were supplied to the King, for which the sum of £1,035 7s. 6d. was paid.

may he not do here as he did at Hampton Court, slip away or else make a pretence of a new designe upon him, as was found about Rolph, when he was to escape from the Isle of Wight."

As we know, the writer had good grounds for his apprehension. The scheme to take the Castle by surprise and arrest Hammond was in the nature of a forlorn hope. With the King enjoying comparative liberty at Newport and having his friends around him, there was a better chance of effecting his escape in spite of the large forces now collected in the Island.

The house selected for his Majesty's occupation during the treaty was the Grammar School, of which Mr. Hopkins was the Master, and in which he lived. Though small, it was the most convenient which Newport could afford,¹ and after being fitted up by Kinnersley and his colleague, provided sufficient accommodation for the King and some of his suite, who were in waiting when he came.

Firebrace's *Narrative* continues :

"I no sooner arrived, then his Majestie told me I should attend him, as I did before, which was page of the Bed-chamber, and clerke of the Kitchen ; for that there must be severall dyets at the Treaty ; and he would have me undertake it ; in order to something better he intended for me.

"I desired to be excused, as not at all understanding this imployment ; He was pleased to tell me, he would instruct me (which in earnest he did). Within two or three days I heard that a Gentleman one of his Majestie's clerkes of the Kitchen was come to Newport, in expectation to wait in his imployment, and then I desired his Majestie that he might wait accordingly, I being unskilfull. He was pleased to tell

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*. William Hopkins was knighted by the King for his services at Newport.

me again that I should undertake it, and that that Gentleman should wait as Clerke Comptroller, as accordingly we did.”¹

The Commissioners arrived on September 15, and on the 18th the negotiations for the Treaty were begun in the Town Hall. With these, however, we are not concerned except in as far as they are mentioned in the King's letters. As he was now living in Hopkins's house and so had opportunities of talking with him in private, these were now discontinued until October, when circumstances made it necessary to resume them.

The duration of the Treaty was fixed at forty days and Charles had given his word to remain in Newport until twenty days after, so the preparations for escape were probably now suspended, but at the beginning of October he received information which he considered justified their resumption. “You cannot get ready too soon,” he wrote on October 7, “for by what I have heard since I saw you, I find that few days will make that impossible which is now feasible.” He asked where he should take boat, if the wind and tide would serve, and if a pass from the Governor might not be useful. Next day (the 8th) he wrote urging Hopkins to lose no time, for he was putting the Commissioners in hope of what he could not make good. On the 9th he explained his difficulty at greater length :

¹ Firebrace served both as Page of the Bedchamber and Clerk of the Kitchen, in the latter capacity taking the place of Dowcett. He says that the King commanded him to “make haste down,” so he may have arrived before the other servants. The Gentleman who was appointed Clerk Comptroller was William Boreman. See p. 212.

"Notwithstanding my too great concessions already made, I know, that unless I shall make yet others, which will directly make me no King, I shall be at best, a Perpetual prisoner. Besides, if this were not, (of which I am too sure) the adhering to the Church, (from which I cannot depart, no not in Shew) will do the same : And to deal freely with you, the great concession I made this day¹ was made merely in order to my Escape, of which, if I had not Hope, I would not have done ; for then I could have returned to my streight Prison without reluctancy. But now I confess it would break my heart, having done that which only an Escape can justify . . . for my only Hope is, that now they believe I dare deny them nothing, and so be less careful of their Guards."

This was an admission that he was staking all on the chance of escape. If it failed he could expect no mercy from his enemies.

He was now entrusting no one with the secret of his plans, not even Mrs. Whorwood. "Upon my word," he added in a postscript, "N. knows nothing of this Business, nor shall : not out of mistrust, (for I cannot be more confident of any), but to keep my Rule, of not putting such a great Secret as this, than is of absolute Necessity."

He found it necessary, however, next day (the 10th) to make it known to the bearer of his letter, George Kirke,² "my oldest and most trusty servant . . . both to ease the pains of writing and for the better Adjusting of all Particulars."

Hopkins, however, was still unable to complete his preparations. On the 16th Charles wrote : "The Businesses of the Church and my Friends come so fast upon me, that I cannot promise you

¹ The King this day agreed to the proposal of the Commissioners that the Militia should be under the control of the Parliament for the space of twenty years dating from July 1, 1646.

² Groom of the Bedchamber.

a Week ; therefore lose no time.”¹ He was even more emphatic next day : “ Excuse my Impatience, that I desire you to give me an Answer where the Business sticks ; for I assure you, that I shall have but few days to Act my Part.”

As Sunday and the monthly Fast day were not included in the forty days of the Treaty, it did not expire till November 3, and on the 4th it was decided by the Parliament that it be continued for fourteen days longer. This gave Hopkins further time before the King could be taken back as a prisoner to Carisbrooke, and he carried on his preparations with a perseverance that deserved a better result. In a letter written on November 9 we find a reference to Newland, who was again in charge of the boat which was to take His Majesty away. Hopkins appeared to have some doubt as to his honesty, but Charles thought that it was in his interest not to betray him, and recommended Hopkins “ to trust him without any more Tryals than to know of him how he can pass the Examination of the Sea Guards.”

Matters seemed to be a little more forward on the 12th, when in the last letter written from Newport, he asked Hopkins to inform himself “ of the Tydes and of the Horse Guards both how they are placed and what Rounds they ride.”

But in spite of the King's efforts to keep his plans secret, some one had already betrayed them.

¹ On the following day (Oct. 17) he rejected the proposals of the Commissioners on the Delinquents, but made counter propositions ; and on the 21st gave his final answer on the subject of the Church. The Lords were anxious to effect a compromise, but the Commons on the 27th rejected the whole of his proposal. This vote gave the death blow to the Treaty.—(Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War.*)

In a letter from Newport dated November 6, mention is made of "a design laid for the conveying of his Majesty's person away,"¹ and the Derby House Committee had more exact knowledge, which they communicated to Hammond on the 13th :

"We have information from a good hand that there is an intention for the King to make escape; the time to be on Thursday night or Friday night²; That he intends to land on this side at Gosport; that only two are to be in his company, a little ancient man with a shrivelled face, and a lusty young man of about 26 or 27 years of age."³

On the 18th they sent further details :

"To escape all suspicion from you, he intends to walk out a mile or two, as usuall, in the day time, and there horses are laid in the isle to carry him to a boat. If he cannot do this, then either over the house in the night, or at some private window in the night, he intends his passage."

Hammond, receiving the warning on Tuesday, the 14th, had ample time to take such precautions as would render an escape impossible. It was perhaps abandoned on that account, but Ashburnham, who was now living at his own house in Sussex, assigns the failure to another cause. He states in his *Narrative* :

"I held intelligence with Him (the King) and received commands from Him to provide a Barque at Hastings in readiness to carry Him into France, and to send horses againe to Netley, and lay others betweene that place and my House,⁴ to the end that if the Commissioners of Parliament should insist upon such particulars in the Treaty as his Conscience and Honour could not submitt to, Hee might be supplied with all things necessary to his escape when Hee should

¹ T.T., E, 470 (17).

² Nov. 16 or 17.

³ Sir William Hopkins and his son George.

⁴ Ashburnham House, near Battle.

come on this side the water, which Hee took for granted that Hee should be able to performe, having then no greater Restraint upon Him ; all which were punctually observed ; but within twenty dayes or thereabouts His Majestie sent mee the Relation of his Condition, which Hee expressed to be very melancholie, *some persons verie neare Him haveing refusd to serve Him in His escape*, and so gave mee order to discharge the Barque and horses that waited for Him."

Ashburnham gives no dates except that he received the command after the Treaty began, and that the ship and horses were countermanded some three weeks later. But he adds that the King told him that he was one of the delinquents whose names had been taken out of the first exception from pardon. This vote was passed in the House on November 1,¹ and Ashburnham could not have received the King's letter until a week or more had elapsed. Probably the horses and ship were ready for the attempt to be made on the 16th or the 17th, but it is impossible to say who were the "persons very near him." If they existed at all they must have taken action between the 12th and the 16th, for in the King's last letter of the former date all seemed to be going well.

According to Mentet² it was Lord Newburgh who received orders to provide horses, "and to put them into the hands of a gentleman the King should send him." But Newburgh was in waiting at Newport, and so could not have been in charge of horses on the mainland.

One of the reasons by which the King justified the voiding of his parole was that the conditions granted by the Parliament were not observed.

¹ Walker, *Perfect Copies of All the Votes, etc., at the Treaty in the Isle of Wight*.

² *Troubles in Gt. Britain*.

Among the *Ashmolean MSS.* at Oxford,¹ is a letter written by him and addressed "to all my people of whatsoever station quality or condition," which he intended to leave behind him when the escape was made. It is headed "Newport, November 1648" and was probably written just before the 16th. In it he stated :

"And certainly my condition in point of freedom is farre different from what it was at Hampton Court. Witness the strict guard round about this Island, and the troop of horse always attending, or rather watching me when I go abroad.

"Since therefore, none of the conditions are kept to me upon which I gave my word, I cannot be truely said to break it, though I seek my freedom. Besides, the Governor made me declare before the Commissioners, that continuation of guards upon me freed me from my word, whereupon he took away the sentinels at my door, but never moved those of more importance, which was enough to confess the truth of what I declared, but not sufficient to take away the justness of my plea which cannot be avoided, except by the total taking away my guards, the difference of a few paces position, nearer or farther off, not making me less a prisoner."

Hammond's view of the question of the sentries was put before the Speaker of the House of Lords in a letter dated November 7. He wrote that having had an intimation that by the setting of guards, thus agreeing a distrust, his parole might thus be made void, he pressed the King to declare his opinion. His Majesty for some time avoided a direct reply, and that he then told him :

"that if the Centinels at his door (I having kept no other since the engagement of his word) were of offence to him, and would absolutely clear him in that Question he seemed to make scruple, they should be taken off, they being only

¹ *Ashmolean MSS.* 800, Art. XXXVI; quoted in Isaac Disraeli's *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First*, Appendix.

set to keep off People from pressing into his Lodgings ; and placed at a further distance with the Guard which is kept to preserve his Majesty's person from violence . . . He concluded himself to be obliged by his Parole if the said Centinels were taken away : which I then promised should be done before the Commissioners. And accordingly it was immediately observed."

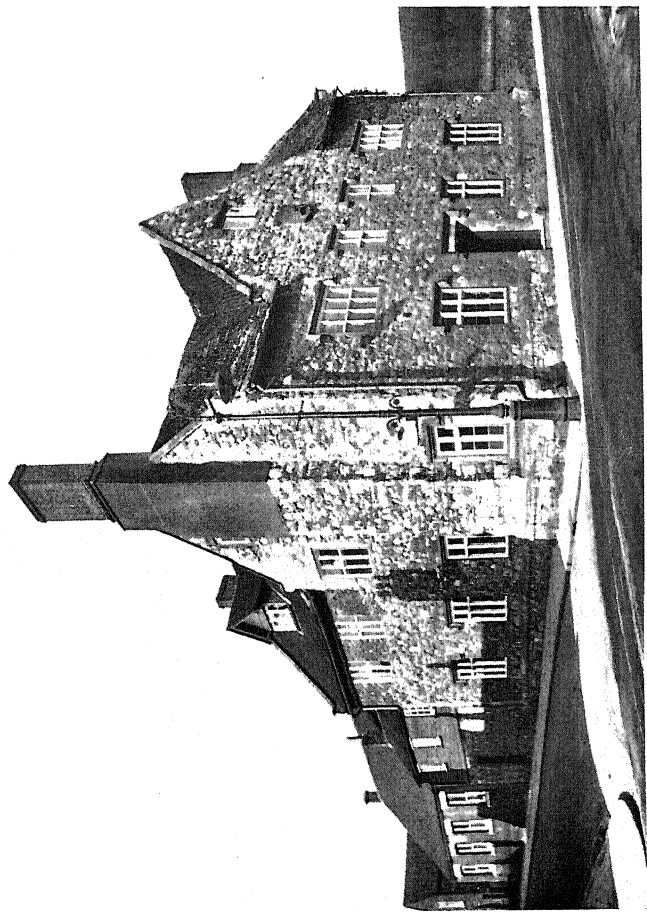
The sentries to which the King took exception were posted at the door of the Grammar School, which is situated in St. James's Street at the corner of Lugley Street. It is now the oldest building of any pretensions in the town, but was then of comparatively recent erection.¹ The large school-room, now divided into two by a partition wall, is on the first floor on the left of the street door, while the King's bedchamber with an anteroom for the Grooms in Waiting was on the right. Below it is a pleasant oak-panelled room with a window leading into the small garden which runs along St. James's Street. In the older histories the school-room is wrongly described as the Treaty Chamber. It was used as the Presence Chamber and for Church Service. The panelled room may have been the one described as the Privy Chamber or the Closet.

The Commissioners waited there on the King only once, on Saturday, September 16, after their first arrival. Their Headquarters was the Bull Inn,² in the High Street close to St. James's Square. The Royalists established themselves at the George,³ a little lower down the High Street on the other side and almost opposite the Town Hall, where the Treaty Meetings were held. The quiet little

¹ The School was founded in 1614.

² The Bugle Inn now stands on its site.

³ The George exists no longer, and a draper's shop occupies its place.



THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWPORT

market town was filled to overflowing with the representatives of the rival parties, some of whom brought their wives with them. The Roundheads looked sourly on the Cavaliers as they flocked in full of hope that the King would soon enjoy his own again. One of them wrote: "Here come many to the place who look upon us as if they desired the annihilation of all that had served the Parliament."¹ But as long as there was any hope of a successful conclusion of the Treaty, the peace was kept between them. Towards the end of October "some of the King's party" arrived from France, Holland, and London with dispatches.² They stayed only a few days and then left with His Majesty's replies. Among them was Major Bosville who was now enjoying the unusual luxury of carrying letters openly and without fear of arrest. He was back again on November 17, on which date he is mentioned in Oudart's diary³: "Boswell had to the Castle this morning." Carisbrooke was now occupied only by the garrison and in it prisoners were confined. The phrasing of Oudart's note seems to imply that he was taken there against his will.

He had probably been involved in a fight with a Roundhead, for the concessions made by the King were highly unpopular with the Cavaliers and the prospect of a breakdown in the Treaty had roused their tempers to boiling-point. A letter from Newport⁴ tells of a disturbance which had taken place on the 9th:

¹ *Moderate Intelligencer*, Sept. 10, 1648.

² *T.T.*, E, 469; *The Moderate*, Oct. 28, 1648.

³ Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*.

⁴ *T.T.*, E, 470 (30). It is dated in error 11 Oct. instead of 11 Nov.

“On Thursday last Divers of the Royall party resorted to the George Tavern where they began their Sovereigns health lustily ; and upon a conference touching his Majestie’s last concessions to the Bill of abolition of the Archbishops, etc., they resolved to declare to the contrary, and thereupon made great protestation to avenge their quarrel upon some of the Chief Instruments thereof : But being discovered in the height of their Arguments, four files of Musquetiers were sent to apprehend them, and to bring them before the Governor ; but upon their motion to secure them, the Royalists resisted, drew their Swords and discharged their pocket pistols, insomuch that a bloody conflict began to ensue, both sides engaging and disputing the place with great resolution and gallantry for the space of half an hour, till at last Ensign Smith entered the room where they were, killed two of them and secured the rest with the loss of three men ; which done, he guarded them to Carisbrooke and upon examination were ordered to be committed to safe custody.

“And his Majestie being informed of the said riot and commotion declared a great dislike thereof saying, That he desired justice to be executed upon all such Contemnners and Covenant Breakers.”

It has been stated that the Parliament had prolonged the Treaty for fourteen days after November 4, but its deathblow had been given by the Commons when on October 27 they rejected the King’s proposals on the subject of the Church. And now the agitation in the Army had grown to such a point that at a meeting of the Council of Officers held at St. Albans on November 7–15 it was decided that the Army should intervene in the negotiations and submit definite proposals to Charles. These were rejected by him on November 17, though in characteristically indirect fashion, and the Council of Officers at once took action with the Parliament. On the 20th the Remonstrance drawn up by Ireton was presented to the House of Commons by Colonel Ewer and some other Officers in the name of the whole Army. In

this document it was demanded that the King be speedily brought to justice for the treason, blood, and mischief he is guilty of, that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York be summoned to surrender for trial, that capital punishment be executed on the principal adherents of the King, that other delinquents be moderately fined, and finally, that the soldiers might receive payment of their arrears.¹ The House postponed consideration of the Remonstrance till the 27th.

There was one friend of the King who was in London on the 20th and received early information of the Army's action. This was Mrs. Whorwood. She appears to have gone from Newport to pick up what intelligence she could, and now realizing the King's imminent danger, hurried down to impart her news and urge the necessity of an escape before it was too late. She received a pass to go to the Island on the 21st, and immediately on her arrival wrote to Hopkins the letter signed "Hellen" which has been already mentioned. It is undated and is placed in the correspondence between two others of October 3 and 7. But if it was written between those dates the news she gives is premature, whereas it is substantially accurate if it is dated a day or two after November 21st. The letter runs as follows :

"I shall give you no account of my Travels, it being a subject for the Variety of Accidents (and especially Dangers) that may more become a Romance than Letter, but wearied with a bad Journey I safely concluded it about 10 this morning since when I have bestirred myself in something satisfactory concerning the present Occurents; and having discover'd that an absolute comply is therefore insisted on, because not probably expected from the King, and without it no acquiesce

¹ Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*.

on the Parliament's part. You will give me leave to fool it a little, so it be in Figures ; which to unlock my dear friend 391,¹ (upon my request made to him) will I know lend you his Key. There is *a notable design* to which are *agreed the Army and Parliament*. And by concurring Counsails to which end *an Express is sent* to Cromwell to *dispose of his Majesty*, many here wish (for his Friends in the City are numerous) that the King would throughly concede, to prevent Dangers incumbing ; but I fear, if Good be not intended him, no condescension of his can abort it. *If then he will be take him to his Escape let him do it on Thursday or Friday next*, but by all means *out of some Door and not from the top of the House* by the help of *Ladders*,² for I have heard too much of that way talk'd of, *by some near him*. Further I desire none may be trusted herewith but *your son and Levet*. *The Prince of Orange* will not fail I know to send *a Ship*, but I have too great reason to apprehend, if he rely thereon, his Intention will be made frustrate, as not coming time enough. I have given some Overtures to him, which you giving him the sense, or sight of this Letter, may as you see cause advance. For your own particular, I have such grounds of *the Governor's* indigest of *His Majesty's escape*, as if perform'd shall never *bring you into any Examination*, or *Trouble about it*, yet I shall not be so peremptory herein, as to cash your Descretion, if you be otherwise disposed for your Security. I shall not torment you with long Compliments, but if by your return I receive assurance of this Convoy, I shall be ready in this or any kind of Command to shew how really I am

Your most affectionate HELLEN."³

The letter was handed by Hopkins to the King to be decoded, but no escape was now possible. The attempt planned for the 16th had failed, and could not be renewed. Though Mrs. Whorwood is wrong in her statement that the Parliament had agreed to the proposals of the Army, Charles had defied them both, and could expect no help from either. He was therefore powerless and could only

¹ The King.

² See Derby House letter of Nov. 18, p. 145.

³ The words in italics are in cipher.

await events with that dignity and resignation which characterized him throughout all his misfortunes.

"My Lords," said he in his address to the Commissioners on Saturday, November 25, "You are come to take your leave of me and I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again, but God's will be done, I thanke God, I have made my peace with him, and shall without feare, undergoe what he shall be pleased to suffer men to doe unto me. My Lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruine, you may see your owne and that also neere to you ; I pray God send you better friends than I have found.

"I am fully informed of the whole cariage of the plot against me and mine ; and nothing so much affects me as the sence and feeling I have of the sufferings of my Subjects ; and the miseries that hang over my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of Good) violently pursue their owne interests and ends." ¹

¹ *T.T.*, 669, f. 13, 53.

CHAPTER VII

THE ABDUCTION OF THE KING

THE King's rejection of the Army's proposals made Ireton and his supporters masters of the situation. Fairfax, though nominally in command, became a mere figurehead, while Cromwell, after some deliberation, joined with the extremists in demanding that Charles should be brought to justice. The House of Commons, by postponing the consideration of the Remonstrance, gave the Army the chance which they desired of taking action without them, and this they immediately proceeded to do.

But before they could secure the person of the King, it was necessary either to secure Hammond's consent, or to remove him from his post as his official custodian. They first endeavoured to gain him over to their side. Even before the proposals were submitted to His Majesty, on November 17 four senior officers, Ireton, Harrison, Disbrowe and Grosvenor, wrote to the Governor urging him to "secure that person from escape, whether by returning of him to the Castle, or such other way, as in thy wisdom and honesty shall deem meetest." Hammond replied refusing to make any change in the King's position, and declining to take any orders regarding him except from the Parliament.

Ireton, on November 22, endeavoured with much specious argument to persuade him, and Fairfax himself was induced to write on the same date summoning him to Headquarters on the plea that he

hoped to remove his scruples, informing him at the same time that Colonel Ewer had been appointed to command in the Island during his absence.

With this summons he felt obliged to comply, but he gave orders to Captain Thomas Boreman, who commanded one of the companies of Island Militia in the Castle, Major Rolph, and Captain Hawes to act for him while he was away. He also sent Major Oliver Cromwell with a letter to the Parliament in which he enclosed the General's letter, and informed them that he was obeying Fairfax's order and that Ewer had been ordered to take command at Carisbrooke.

The House debated the matter and decided to desire the General to countermand his order to Ewer, while they sent Major Cromwell back with instructions to Hammond to remain as Governor in the Island.

In the meanwhile Ewer arrived at Newport before Hammond's departure and showed him his orders to secure the King in the Castle, at the same time informing him that on his refusal, "he had power to call on other forces, and if he should so secure him, then if he found any hazard in being here, to give them notice, and to bring the King over the water." Hammond opposed him to the utmost, and it was eventually decided that Ewer should accompany him to Headquarters.

Hammond took his leave of the King, and they left together on November 27. Arriving next day at Farnham, they met Major Cromwell, who showed him the Parliament's order to return to his command. Ewer thereupon arrested Hammond and conveyed him to the Army Headquarters at Windsor.¹ He there received a reprimand for not

¹ *T.T.*, E, 475 (14).

“rendering such ready obedience to orders as was required,” but was allowed to go to Reading where he remained on parole.

The news of the Army’s designs had already become known to the Royalists in the Island, and they were loud in their protestations that they were resolved to sacrifice their lives for the protection of His Majesty’s sacred person, and if they took effect vowed to revenge themselves. A meeting was held, probably at the George, on Sunday, November 26, but the Governor had received information of the plot, and sent a party of musketeers under Captain Watts to arrest them. On being denied admittance, Watts ordered his men to fire at the windows, and on the Royalists replying, proceeded to storm the house. The fight ended in the securing of the Cavaliers with the loss of five men on the Parliamentary, and of three or four on the Royalist side.¹

This abortive attempt ended the resistance of the King’s friends. Colonel Ewer did not return to the Island, but Fairfax and the Council of Officers ordered Lieut.-Colonel Cobbett and Captain Merryman to take his place and to secure the King again in Carisbrooke. These officers arrived on the morning of the 29th, and proceeded to the Castle to impart their instructions to Boreman, Rolph, and Hawes, whose concurrence they desired. While they were debating the matter, a fresh order from the General arrived, commanding them to take the person of the King into their charge, and to remove him to Hurst Castle. The order also required Boreman and his colleagues to aid and assist therein. To this Boreman demurred, stating that he could not act contrary to the instructions of the Governor who had appointed him as his

¹ *T.T.*, E, 473 (40).

deputy, though he was himself unable to oppose them. Hawes declared himself obliged not to disobey the order of his superior officers, but was unwilling to join in it. He would, however, neither directly or indirectly oppose it. Rolph alone gave his unqualified adhesion to the commands of the General.¹

Boreman and Hawes therefore remained in the Castle practically as prisoners, while Rolph returned with Cobbett and Merryman to Newport. The troops already in the Island had been reinforced in the night by the arrival of another troop of horse and a company of infantry. This force, in addition to the troop of horse and the two companies of regulars already there, was amply sufficient to prevent any attempt at rescue by Royalist sympathizers in the town. The Militia Companies were left to garrison the Castle, with a detachment of regulars to keep watch on Boreman and Hawes.

The above proceedings probably took up the greater part of the day, but by the evening everything was ready. For the incidents of that eventful Wednesday night we have the narratives of Firebrace, Herbert, and Colonel Edward Cooke,² who, though a Parliamentary officer, appears to have gained the King's confidence, and was regarded as a friend by him. His account may be taken as an accurate description of the events as they occurred, for it was drawn up immediately afterwards and in consultation with two other eye-witnesses.

Firebrace's story begins at about seven o'clock in the evening :

¹ *T.T.*, E, 475 (17), Letter to the Parliament from the three officers, Dec. 1, 1648.

² Cooke later commanded a Regiment, but at this time held the rank of Captain.

"The King had commanded me to attend him that night at eight of the clock, for a packet he was preparing for me to send to the Queene; but before that houre, I perceived some souldiers with pistolls in their hands, busily prying about the House, where the King was lodged.

"This together with the newes of a partie, newly arrived, put me into great apprehensions of the King's danger, And therefore, not staying till the tyme his Majestie had appointed me, I knocked at the Bedchamber dore (which his Majestie had commanded me to do, at any tyme when I had business with him) and by such a knock, which he knew, and directed me to use, he presently opened me the dore; and seeing me appeare in a great astonishment, asked me what is the matter. I answered, God Almightye preserve your Majestie, for I much feare some dismall attempt upon your person; and told him what I had seen and heard. He was pleased to lay his hand upon mine, and use these or the like words.

"Firebrace be not thus affrighted, things will be well. You know Hammond is this day¹ gone to London; and he hath appointed three deputies in his absence. These will be trebly diligent, and it may be set a Treble Gard upon me, But I am assured there will be no danger.

"I replied, Ah Sir I much feare you are deceived, for Gods sake yet thinke of your safetie; There is yet a Dore of hope open, The night is Darke, and I can now safely bring you into the street, and thence conduct you to your old friend Mr. John Newland, who hath a good Boat always ready, and a good heart to serve you. Commit yourselve to the mercie of the sea, where God will preserve you; and trust not yourself in the hands of those merciless villaines, who I feare this night will murther you; which indeed I feared; and therefore was transported in my passionate expressions; which his Majestie notwithstanding took very well, and used expressions of great kindness to me; which I begged he would forbear and yet thinke of his safetie.

"He told me he did not feare, and that, if he did thinke there was any danger; he should be cautious of going; in regard of his word (which I supposed he had passed to Hammond not to stirr). Then he bid me stay, and he would seale up his Letters, which he had just finished, and

¹ This must be Firebrace's mistake. Hammond had left on the 27th.

give me that dispatch to send away, which accordingly he did, and I, with a sorrowfull heart left him."

After Firebrace's departure,¹ the time being between seven and eight, the King sent for the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey, and Captain Cooke, who were all three together at the Duke's lodgings. They "accordingly hastened to the Court ; the two Lords entering into the King's inner room, whilst the Colonel waited in the outer room till further order."

It would appear that Charles had heard from another source of the design to seize him that night, for the *Narrative* continues : "The King acquainted the Lords that one of his Servants had been sent for by a person in a kind of disguise, who having informed him that the Army would that Night seize upon the King's person, abruptly left him." Cooke was then called in and replying to the question whether he had heard of this design, said " that he did not hear anything tending towards it ; adding, surely if he had, he would have acquainted the King therewith." He was then commanded to go and make inquiries from Rolph, and finding him in his chamber,² put the question to him. Rolph replied : " Not as he knew of, adding, You may assure the King from me, That he

¹ What follows is taken from a manuscript copy of Colonel Cooke's *Narrative* which is in the British Museum (*Harleian MSS.* 4705). It is in the handwriting of Sir William Dugdale, and is probably the copy mentioned by him in his letter to Firebrace dated 29 April, 1684, which " he had lately obtained from Colonel Cooke (now deceased)." (See Appendix A.) An incorrect version of the *Narrative* was printed in 1690. Dugdale's collection containing Herbert's *Memoirs*, Firebrace's *Narrative* and those of Major Huntington and Col. Cooke were printed in 1702, and reprinted in 1711 and 1813.

² Rolph was now lodging in the town of Newport.

may rest quietly this Night ; for on my life he shall have no Disturbance this Night." Noticing the emphasis placed on the words " this night," Cooke pressed him further, when he answered : " It was impossible for him to know the present Purposes of the Army at so great a distance ; but that as yet he had received no such Orders." Cooke then asked him whether, if he received such orders, he would let him know so that he might warn the King, and Rolph replied : " That was but a Respect due to the King." ¹

With this evasive answer Cooke had to be content, and reported the conversation to Charles. The latter in the interval had heard that reinforcements had arrived in the Island, and sent Cooke back to inquire into the truth of it. Rolph again evaded a direct reply, saying that he knew fresh forces would come over to relieve those who had been on duty, but that he was not yet certain they had landed. This was a lie, for he must have heard from Cobbett that morning that the troops had landed during the previous night. Cooke however gave this answer to the King, who had just heard that two thousand foot were drawn up about Carisbrooke, and was much startled at the news, saying : " Then sure there must be some extraordinary Design on foot ; that such a Body of Men should not only be so privately landed, but in such a bitter Night as this is, be exposed to such Extremity of Weather, the Wind blowing very high, and the Rain falling very fast." He also expressed a great desire to know the truth of this, and Cooke, realizing that he would get no reliable information

¹ Hammond had given orders to Rolph always to address the King through Cooke, as he himself had done during the Treaty.

from Rolph, offered to go to Carisbrooke himself. The King with his usual consideration for others, was unwilling to expose him to the severity of the weather, but Cooke pleaded that in no other way could the information be obtained, and being backed up by the Lords, Charles at last consented, saying "That being young and healthy, he did hope that he would receive no Prejudice by it, and that he might live to requite it."

Cooke then got his horse and groped his way out in the thick darkness. Finding no one outside the Castle, he went to the Gate and after giving the password to the Corporal of the Guard, sheltered himself under the Gate, while he sent word to Captain Boreman, whom he knew well, that he desired to see him. In the meantime he talked with the soldiers, whom he found belonged to a company of Islanders recently arrived and were quite ignorant of what was going on. The messenger at last returned with Boreman's reply inviting him in, and on entering the Parlour,¹ he was surprised to find there about a dozen officers of the Army most of whose faces he knew. He succeeded in getting a private interview only after Boreman had asked and obtained leave from the officers, and on asking the reason for this, was told by him that he was a prisoner in his own garrison, "for they threatened him with immediate Death if he but so much as whispered with any of his own Servants." Cooke asked him if he could imagine the cause of all this, and the Governor supposed that "there were some great Designs on foot, but he knew not what they were." He added that the Captain commanding the troop of horse was in the same position, "but

¹ The "Parlour" was probably in the Chief Officer's House.

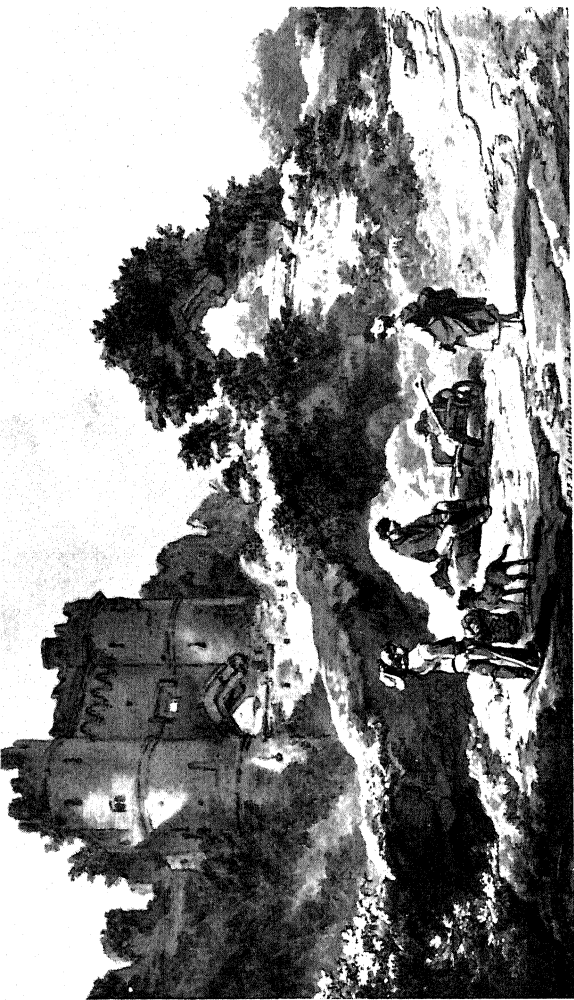
that he knew no Cause for either, unless they were suspected to have had too much Duty for the King." Cooke then asked him "whether he knew anything of the King's being that night to be seized on?" and received the reply "That it was not improbable but that might be the Design tho that he knew nothing of it."

Cooke now returned to the King, with the disquieting intelligence that though the 2,000 foot at Carisbrooke were non-existent, all the available regular troops were concentrated in Newport. He found on his arrival that guards had been set round the house and at every window; sentries were posted inside also, even "on the King's very Chamber-door, so that the King was almost suffocated with the Smoak of their Matches."

This was an intolerable situation and he hurried off to lodge a complaint with Rolph, whom he found in bed, it being then "near twelve of the clock." Rolph told him that he was not responsible for it, but that as there were no quarters for the two companies withdrawn from the Castle, he had ordered them to double the guards. He would redress the matter next day, and in the meantime Cooke might use his name with the Captain of the Guard, who he was sure would "draw off the men from being so offensive to the King."

Cooke having persuaded the officer to withdraw the Guard "to a more tolerable distance," rejoined the King, and in conjunction with the Duke of Richmond and Lord Lindsey¹ had a conference

¹ The other two Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, were not present. Cooke here states that "Lord Southampton being indisposed was returned to his own lodgings, and the Marquis of Hertford gone to Netley."



Victoria and Albert Museum

CARISBROOKE CASTLE; THE GATEWAY IN 1800

From the picture by P. J. DE LOUTHERBOURG.

on the whole matter. It was "unanimously concluded that the Army did design suddenly to seize upon the King's person" and "the next question was, in this desperate case, what was most advisable."

The Lords urged an immediate escape, but the King argued against it, giving as his reasons,

"first, the great Difficulties, if not Impossibility of accomplishing it. Next that in case he should miscarry in the Attempt, it would exasperate the Army and dishearten his Friends ; and lastly, That if the Army should seize him, they must preserve him for their own sakes ; he being convinced that no Party could secure their own Interest, without joining his with it, his Son being now out of their reach."

Lord Lindsey bade him take heed lest he fall into such hands as would not steer by such rules of policy and urged him to remember Hampton Court where escape was his best security, while the Duke thought an escape was feasible, and asked Cooke how he passed to and fro.

Cooke answered that he had the password. The Duke asked whether he could pass him too, and Cooke had no doubt that he could. Whereupon the Duke took a "Leaguer Cloak¹ without a Star," and made Cooke go with him through the Guards and back, which was done with ease, and he again endeavoured to persuade the King to make the attempt.

Charles was talking with the two Lords at the window, when he suddenly turned to Cooke, who was drying himself by the fire, and said : "Ned Cooke, What do you advise in this Case ?" Cooke "humbly answered, That he suspected his own

¹ The word is not found in the *O.E.D.*, but would mean a military cloak covering the whole person. (Leaguer = camp.)

Judgment too much to offer any Advice, considering both the greatness of the Danger, and the Person concern'd in it : and, that his Majesty having his Privy-Council with him, to whom he humbly besought him to listen considering what they pressed him to."

Richmond and Lindsey then resumed their entreaties, but the King turning again to Cooke, said :

" ' Ned Cooke, I command you to give me your Advice.' To which he replied : ' Supposed I should not only tell your Majesty, that the Army design'd suddenly to seize your Majesty ; but by concurring Circumstances should fully convince you, that it would be so ; Also, that I have the Word, and Horses ready at hand, they not being far off, in a readiness under the Pent-House,¹ a vessel attending at the Cows,² nay hourly expecting me, myself likewise both ready, and desirous to attend your Majesty, and the Darkness of the Night, as it were, fitted for the purpose ; so that I can foresee no visible Difficulty in the thing ; which I suppose, in all its particulars to be the true state of the present Case : The only now remaining question is, If so, What will your Majesty resolve to do ? ' "

The King, after a short pause, returned the positive answer : " They have promised me, and I have promised them, and I will not break first."

The Duke pressed Cooke to urge the point, which Charles permitting, he pointed out that the promise had been given to and by the Parliament, and that the Army had already violated that promise by changing the single sentry at the street door into strong guards at his very chamber door, which was virtually a confinement and the probable forerunner

¹ The Pent-House would be a lean-to shed in the neighbourhood.

² The ship was lying off Cowes at the mouth of the Medina.

of an absolute imprisonment. But the King still refused to break his word, and bade him and the Earl of Lindsey good night, saying he would take his rest too as long as he could. Cooke said, "Which Sire I fear will not be long." But perceiving Cooke's uneasiness, the King said "Ned, what troubleth you? Tell me." He replied, "Sir, to consider the Greatness of your Majesty's Danger, and Unwillingness to obviate it." But the King said: "Never let that trouble you, were it greater, I would not break my Word to prevent it." Cooke had one more argument. Might he call in Lord Southampton? Charles replied: "What needs that? Are not those (Richmond and Lindsey) my two Friends. I tell you they are my true Friends." Cooke could only say: "Be pleased then to consult them." But the King was resolved, and sent them away, saying he would send for them if he had need of them.

The Duke followed Cooke into the outer room and asked him whether he should take his clothes off that night. Cooke said that he himself would not, as he distrusted Rolph's promise, and expected that His Majesty would soon be disturbed. He agreed to wait while the Duke let the King know his opinion, hoping that thus the discussion might be continued. But he soon returned and told him that His Majesty was resolved to go to bed.

It was then about one in the morning, and Cooke and Lindsey returned to their lodging. Cooke tells us that he did not go to bed all night "yet all things were carried out with such Secrecy and Quiet, that not the least Noise was heard, nor the least Cause of Suspicion given."

Throughout the interview Cooke showed great ability in putting his case as well as a genuine desire

to save the King at the risk of his life, or at the best of sacrificing his career in the Army. It would also appear that the plan of escape he proposed was not suggested on the spur of the moment, but had been thought out beforehand. He could have got the horses ready on his return from Carisbrooke, but the vessel lying at Cowes necessitated arrangements which could only be made during the day, and we can imagine no reason why it should be "hourly expecting him" on a dark stormy night, unless he had hoped to persuade the King to come with him. Firebrace's proposal to take Charles through the streets of Newport to Newland was a desperate venture, for he could hardly expect to pass the guards without being examined, but Cooke was in possession of the password and might have succeeded in getting the King through unrecognized in the darkness of the night and wearing the cloak which the Duke had worn. The Grammar School is actually on the Cowes road, and if they could reach the horses the party could leave the town without passing through the main streets. The distance to Cowes was but six miles, and their only danger would have been through meeting a party of horse on patrol.

But the King would have none of it, and gave as his reason both to Firebrace and Cooke that he would not break his word given to the Parliament. Yet only a fortnight before he had stated in his letter to the nation that he was justified in doing so, and, as Cooke had pointed out, now that the Army had themselves violated the agreement by practically making him a prisoner, he need have no further scruples on the matter.

It is evident that there was some further reason for rejecting this last chance of escape. According

to Clarendon he had received from abroad "some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagined how wonderfully fearful some persons in France were that he should make his escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither." Gardiner gives as his reason that "when it came to the point, the dishonour of uttering a deliberate falsehood, as distinguished from an evasion or equivocation, stood up clearly and unmistakably before his mind."¹

It is certain that the arrival of the King in France accompanied by a crowd of refugees in needy circumstances would not have been welcome, and no doubt Charles was well aware of the fact. But he might have faced the chance of a cold reception if it were to save his life. Gardiner's reason seems also inadequate. If the statement he made in his letter to the nation justified an escape, the present action of the Army in making him a prisoner was more than adequate in absolving him from his promise given to the Parliament.

The clue appears to be given in Clarendon's account of his character. He there states: "He was very fearless in his person, but not very enterprising." He could not seize the opportunity when it presented itself. At the critical moment his nerve failed him, and he chose the line of least resistance. He did not believe that the Army would proceed to extreme measures, and still had hopes that the Parliament might rescue him from their hands. His motto was still "Dum Spiro Spero." An escape might still be effected under more auspicious circumstances.

¹ *History of the Great Civil War.*

Cooke's *Narrative* is now continued on the authority of the Duke of Richmond, who remained with the King,¹ and so was an eye-witness of the events of the morning of the 30th.

Just at daybreak, which would be about seven-thirty at that time of the year,² the King heard a great knocking at "his Dressing-room Door"³ and sent the Duke to inquire what it meant. He returned with the report that Anthony Mildmay, the King's Carver, was without and had told him that "some Gentlemen from the Army" were "very desirous to speak with the King." His Majesty ordered them to be admitted to the ante-room, but before he was out of bed, they

"rushed into his Bed-chamber and abruptly told the King, that they had Orders to remove him. From whom? said the King. They reply'd, From the Army. The King then asked, To what Place? To the Castle, said they. The King demanded, to What Castle? Again they answered, To the Castle. The Castle, said the King, is no Castle,

¹ He probably slept on a pallet bed in the King's room.

² The hour at which the Officers arrived is variously given. Firebrace and Cooke both say it was at daybreak. The letters of Rolph, Boreman and Hawes to the Speaker make it between five and six. The account in *The Moderate* of Dec. 2, signed I.T. and apparently written by one of the Officers, states: "This morning about 6 of the clock, five of us came to his Majesty's chambers." It continues "in half an hour his Majesty was coached." Firebrace also states that the whole proceedings took only half an hour. According to Rolph's letter the King left at eight. The time of departure should have been known to Rolph, as he went with him. It appears therefore that the time given above is approximately correct. It is nowhere stated who the five officers were. Herbert mentions Lieut.-Col. Cobbett by name. Two of the others may have been Rolph and Merryman.

³ The small side room which served as an antechamber.

and added he was well enough prepared for any Castle ; requiring them to name the Castle. After a short whispering together, they said, Hurst Castle. Indeed, said the King, You could not have named a worse. Whereupon immediately the King called to the Duke of Richmond to send for the Earl of Lindsey and Colonel Cooke. At first they scrupled at the Earl of Lindsey's coming ; but the King saying, Why not both, since both lie together. Then having whispered together they promised to send for both, but sent for neither."

Rolph and Cobbett had taken precautions that Lindsey should not be a witness of their proceedings, for on the Duke's return an hour or so later, he found that a guard had been set " to keep him from the Knowledge of what was doing, at least to confine him from stirring forth, had he received any notice." The guard could hardly have prevented Cooke, a Parliamentary officer, from " stirring forth," but it is evident that his presence was not desired. They probably suspected him of being too favourably disposed towards the King.

Cooke goes on to say that " the Duke of Richmond had ordered the King's breakfast to be hastened, presuming there was little Provision in the desolate Castle." Firebrace in his *Narrative* takes credit for this, and probably he is right. He says :

" A little before which tyme (daybreak) for with difficultie I had gotten leave of those Bloodhounds ¹ (to come into the Bedchamber, as being a Page thereof, as well as clerke of the kitchen) the King sayd to me, I know not where these people intend to carry me ; and I would willingly eat before I go ; therefore get me something to eat."

He evidently came to the King about the same time as the officers and before they told him he

¹ He states that the sentries were " in all places within and without the house, and even in his bedchamber." His memory fails him here. They had probably been posted in the anteroom, but Cooke had had them removed.

was to go to Hurst Castle. He goes on : " which I caused the Cooke immediately to do ; and coming myselfe in half an houre, to tell him it was readie ; I met these wretches leading him down the staires ; to hurry him away, not suffering him to break his fast." This is confirmed by Cooke : " Nevertheless when he was scarce ready, the Horses being come they hurry'd him away."

Firebrace continues : " I kneeled downe, and kissed his hand ; at which he stopped to give me leave to do so, when they thrust him ; saying, Go on Sir, and so thrust him up into his coach which was set close to the doore."

We learn from Herbert that before he entered the coach, the King asked Lieut.-Col. Cobbett whether he was to have any servants with him, and received the reply : " Only such as are most useful." He then nominated Herbert, Harrington and " scarce a dozen more for other service." ¹ Herbert had

¹ A list of the Gentlemen attending the King at Hurst Castle is given in the *Thomason Tracts* (E, 477(7)), and in the *House of Commons Journals*.

Mr. Harrington	.	} Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.
Mr. Herbert	.	
Mr. Mildmay	.	Carver.
Lieut.-Col. Robinson	.	Cup Bearer
Major Duckett	.	Sewer
Capt. Preston	.	of the Robes
Mr. Reading	.	Page of the Backstairs
Mr. Lee	.	Paymaster
Mr. Muschamp	.	of the Wood Yard
Mr. Lewin	.	of the Celler and Buttery
Mr. Catchaside	.	of the Pantry and Ewry
Mr. Laban	.	Page of the Presence
Mr. Turner	.	Groom of the Chamber
Capt. Joyner	.	Master Cook
and 2 Gentlemen more		(<i>H. of C. Journals.</i> 2 Under Cooks.)

been absent for three days being "sick of an ague," but on the King sending to inquire if he were well enough to attend him, he at once "arose and came speedily to his Majestie." The King then commanded him with Harrington and Mildmay to come into his coach.

While they were awaiting his arrival,

"one Rolph, who had before attempted to murther him; impudently (with his hat on) stept up into the coach to him; but his Majestie with great courage rose up, and thrust him out; saying it is not come to that yet: Get you out. . . . Rolfe, thus disappointed, took his saddle horse, which was there ready for his Majestie and got upon him; and so using insulting words, rode by the coach side."

This is Firebrace's account. Herbert states that it was Lieut.-Col. Cobbett who attempted to enter the coach uninvited, and that "his Majesty (by opposing his Foot) made him sensible of his Rudeness, so as with some shame he mounted his Horse, and followed with a Guard of Horse, the Coachman driving as he directed."

Firebrace was a witness of the incident and is the more reliable in matters of detail. Rolph as Deputy Governor might have considered himself entitled to ride with the King, and being a man of low extraction is more likely to have behaved in the manner described.

The Duke of Richmond was allowed to attend His Majesty about two miles, and was then told he must go no farther. "He sadly took leave of his Majesty, scarce being permitted to Kiss his Majesty's hand; whose last words to the Duke were: Remember me to my Lord of Lindsey, and to Colonel Cooke, and command Colonel Cooke from me, never to forget the Passages of this Night." He returned at once to Newport and informed them

of the King's being carried away. Then with the Earl and Countess of Southampton immediately left the Island in Cooke's vessel. On landing they were arrested by a party of Colonel Okey's regiment, but by the persuasion of Cooke and on his engagement for their forthcoming, were permitted to proceed next morning to Lord Southampton's house at Titchfield, where "the next Morning, whilst all Passages were ripe in their Memory, the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Lindsey and Colonel Cooke met, and drew up this Narrative, in Obedience to the King's Command."

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CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST STAGE

WITH the departure of the King from Newport, Firebrace's account from his own personal experience ends, but he states that "they carried him to Yarmouth in the Island ; and from thence by water to Hurst Castle."

This is the way which would be naturally taken ; a road led from Newport to Yarmouth and there ended. From Yarmouth Haven to Hurst Castle the distance by water is less than three miles. But Herbert, whose *Memoirs* are now our only authority, states that "the Coach (by the Lieutenant Colonel's directions) went Westwards towards Worsley Tower, in Fresh-Water-Isle, a little beyond Yarmouth Haven ; thereabout his Majesty rested, until the Vessel was ready to take him aboard, with those few his Attendants."

Freshwater Isle is that extreme western portion of the Island which is almost cut off by the river Yar, and which in some of the old maps is clearly shown as an island. The village of Freshwater is situated in the centre, close to the river. In 1648 the bridge at that point formed the only means of communication for wheeled vehicles between it and the rest of the Island. Worsley's Tower was a Fort built in 1543 during the governorship of Sir Richard Worsley as a protection against the French. In 1587 it had fallen into decay and was replaced by another named Carey's Sconce or Sharpnose Fort. This was situated where Fort Victoria is now.

Worsley's Tower was about half a mile farther to the west.

In 1648 there was no direct road from Newport to Freshwater, and as Herbert states that they went westwards, it is probable that the route taken was by the Yarmouth road as far as Thorley, and from there south to the river.¹ Cobbett took him that way, both to take advantage of the bridge and to prevent the King's removal becoming known until he was securely lodged in Hurst Castle. Had he gone by Yarmouth, he must have left the coach there and continued his route by water, or have crossed the Yar in a boat and taken horses on the other side. Either course would have necessitated some stay in that place, and would have brought the inhabitants out to see the King, perhaps with expressions of sympathy, which at all hazards Cobbett wished to avoid.

The King, however, did meet one friend during the journey. This was Edward Worsley of Gatcombe, to whom he presented his watch, in remembrance of the services rendered by him.²

After resting for an hour, Herbert tells us that the little party "went aboard and the wind and tide favouring they crossed that narrow Sea in Three Hours." It is difficult to understand how in favourable conditions it took so long to cover a distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, but as we know, Herbert is not reliable in points of detail. They were met on their arrival by Lieutenant-Colonel Ayers, the Governor, whose appearance was far from pre-

¹ Speed's maps do not show the roads, but there was certainly a driving road to Yarmouth via Thorley. The road south is found in Taylor's map of 1759, and in Faden's taken from Milne's survey of 1788-90.

² Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight*, 1781.

possessing. "His Look was stern, his Hair and Beard were black and bushy; he held a Partizan in his Hand, and (Switz-like) had a great Basket-hilt sword by his side." His demeanour did not belie his appearance, so much so that "some of his Majesty's servants were not a little fearful of him," and complained to Cobbett, who, being his superior officer, administered a sharp reprimand, with the result that he "quickly became mild and calm," and was afterwards, "very civil to the King both in his Language and Behaviour."

The accommodation provided in the Castle was very bad, the situation was unhealthy, and the only place for exercise was along the causeway, some 2 miles in length, which joined the Castle with the coast of Hampshire. Here the King walked, the weather permitting, discoursing with the Governor or Captain Reynolds,¹ and attended by Herbert and Harrington.

It would appear that one of His Majesty's old and faithful servants also went with him to Hurst. This was William Levet, who recorded the circumstances in an undated letter to Seymour Bourman, Esq., in Lincoln's Inn Fields.² According to his account he, with George Kirke and Herbert, were in waiting on the King when the soldiers arrived on the morning of the 30th, and he relates the subsequent events without any reference to the Duke of Richmond, but as if he and his two colleagues, one of whom we know was not present, had been the chief actors. He continues :

"During the time of his Majesty's making himself ready, he concerned himself only how to secure this Book of his (Eikon Basilike) and a small cabinet, wherein he secured his

¹ He appears to have been the second in command.

² Quoted in full in Wagstaffe's *Vindication*.

Letters to (? from) the Queen, who was then beyond the sea ; and his Majesty having secured a Pass for me from the Governour, that I should wait upon him there, he gave me in charge this said Book and small cabinet, which I faithfully presented to his Majesty's own hands that night in Hurst Castle. But the Governour, by what information is too tedious to insert here at the time and therefore I omit it, did on Saturday banish me out of the Castle."

The first part of the letter is inaccurate, but we have the King's confirmation of the fact that Levet came to Hurst Castle. On the 5th he sent two letters by Mrs. Wheeler, the laundress, who it appears had also accompanied him. One of them was to Nicholas Oudart, and in it he wrote : "Lykewais I would have answer to that dispatch I sent to 377 *by Levet since I came to Hurst Castle.*"¹

The other was to Firebrace. In it he asked to be commended to Cresset, Lady Carlisle, Lady Aubigny, Mrs. Whorwood, Burroughs, and Titus. In both he asked them to send him news by the way that Mrs. Wheeler would show them. He had no news himself except that he was civilly used.

On the 8th he sent a letter to Hopkins, asking him also for news though he could give little himself, except that he was "closely kept and civilly used." He also asked to be commended to N. and added that he had all his ciphers, so that they could both write freely to him.

On the 17th he wrote again to Firebrace, thanking him for the "Store of Newes" he had sent him. He had not yet received a letter from N. which Firebrace told him was sent on the 9th, but asked him to deliver an enclosed letter to her.

From this correspondence it is not clear whether Firebrace, Oudart and Mrs. Whorwood were still

¹ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*. The words in italics are in cipher.—(See Appendix G, p. 350.)

at Newport, or had returned to London. The first letter to Oudart is endorsed as received on the 11th and answered on the 12th. From the time taken on the road, six days, it would appear that he was in London, and probably Firebrace and Mrs. Whorwood had also left the Island. Hopkins would still be in his house at Newport and it is possible that the other two stayed on there while the King was at Hurst, in the hope that they might be able to do something to assist him. In his letters he makes no mention of any attempt to escape from there, but if Mentet's¹ narrative is reliable, it appears that Lord Newburgh had evolved another scheme therein described. He states :

"Three days after Charles was in Hurst Castle, Lord Newburgh conveyed a letter to him and at the same time treated with the Captain of a Frigate² in whom he had confidence, and who promised Lord Newburgh to convey the King to any place he should be pleased to order him.

"There was a sort of long causeway that reached from Hurst Castle to the Harbour of Milford upon whom the King walked every day at 11 o'clock in the fore noon with 3 or 4 soldiers to guard him, so that as ships could anchor very near the shore the longboat could easily come on shore with a score of men who without running any risk would have been able to bring off his Majesty and carry him in safety on board the Frigate. But the Captain having in all haste fitted out his ship in the Thames and being ready to set sail a party of horse commanded by Col. Harrison came to take the King in order to take him to Windsor Castle."³

¹ *Troubles in Gt. Britain.*

² The Frigate of that date was a small fast vessel which could be propelled by oars or sails.

³ A newsletter dated Dec. 19 seems to make some mention of this attempt. "Prince Rupert is designed . . . to have attempted to have rescued the King out of Hurst Castle and carry him into Ireland, but his Majesty being now on his way toward Windsor that design is prevented."—(*T.T.*, E, 477 (7).)

Here we have a confirmation of Herbert's statement that Charles took his exercise on the causeway though he does not mention the guard of three or four soldiers. Mentet also mentions that Colonel Harrison came and gave orders for his removal. But he is wrong in saying that Harrison commanded the party of horse. According to Herbert he arrived on December 15, stayed two nights, and left without seeing the King or speaking with any of his attendants.

It was at this time that the King suffered another loss by the dismissal of Harrington. It appeared that during a conversation with the Governor and some of the officers of the Army he enlarged on the wisdom shown by the King both in his arguments with the Commissioners and in his learned disputes with the Presbyterian divines, and he further maintained that but for the intervention of the Army the Treaty might have resulted successfully. These opinions were held to be unpardonable, and on his refusal to retract them, he was summarily discharged. The King very much resented the action of the officers, but "blamed Harrington for not being more wary among men that at such times were full of Jealousies and very little obliging to his Majesty."

The letter written to the Speaker by the three officers deputed with the Government of the Island ¹ was read in the House of Commons on December 4, and a Resolution was passed "that the taking of the King's person into custody, and carrying him to Hurst Castle is without their consent and approbation."

To this the Army promptly replied on the 6th by sending a party of soldiers under Colonel Pride

¹ See p. 157 n.

to the House of Commons. All Members arriving were stopped and all who were known to be opposed to the Army were turned back, and forbidden to enter the House. Those who offered resistance were made prisoners and were only liberated on giving their parole to make no attempt to return to their places in the House. The total number affected by Pride's Purge was 143. Thus Parliament was rendered powerless and the King had no further hope of any assistance from it in procuring his rescue from the custody of the Army.

On Tuesday the 19th Lieut.-Colonel Cobbett informed the King that he had received orders to remove him to Windsor Castle, with which proposal he very willingly agreed. They left on horseback the same day escorted by a troop of horse, and proceeded that day to Winchester and the next day to Farnham, where he was met by Colonel Harrison with a second troop. Harrison now took over command and on the 21st they started for Windsor. They had to pass the royal Hunting Lodge at Bagshot where Lord and Lady Newburgh were residing. There Newburgh, nothing daunted by his failure at Hurst, had planned another way of escape. He had in his stables the fleetest horse in England, and he had advised the King to find fault with the horse he was riding or if possible to lame him. Newburgh would then mount him on his horse and when opportunity offered, he was to put spurs to it, and gallop away from his guards. By the speed of the horse and his knowledge of the Forest of Swinley he would be able to elude his pursuers, and in case he should want another mount, three or four other good horses were posted in different places.

This is the account of Newburgh's plan given by Clarendon and in the main it agrees with that of Mentet,¹ but in relating the incidents of the day they differ materially. According to Mentet, the King arrived at Bagshot Park

"pretty soon in the morning, and sent word to Newburgh to send one of his servants with two horses to a place on the heath called Swintley Bars and that his Majesty at first sight might know him he ordered him to put a pretty large patch under his left eye. But before the horses could be got out of the stable, the King's Head Cook² came, who was a man entirely devoted to the Army and who had orders from Colonel Harrison to dress dinner there. The King seeing that, sent again to tell Lord Newburgh that he wished some way could be contrived for getting him conveyed out of the Lodge if it was possible."

Mentet says nothing more about the King's dinner, but states that he succeeded in laming his horse, and with some difficulty persuaded Colonel Harrison to allow him to ride one that Lord Newburgh's groom had got ready for him, but Harrison gave orders to the mounted guards to keep their ranks closed up round the King, and this they did so well that he had no opportunity to get away from them.

Clarendon's version is that it was the express wish of the King to dine at Bagshot, and that Harrison, fearing a plot for an escape, "sent some horse with an officer to search the house and all about the Park." All the morning Charles "found fault with the going of his horse, and said he would change it and procure a better," but on his arrival at Bagshot he was told that the horse on which he depended had been lamed the day before, and would be of no use for the purpose intended. He

¹ *Troubles in Gr. Britain.*

² Captain Joyner.

had also taken note of the difficulty of galloping away from the escort, encompassed as he was "by a hundred horse the officers exceedingly well mounted." He therefore refused the offer of another horse, and gave up the design. After spending three or four hours during which he was not allowed any private intercourse with his host and hostess, he went on to Windsor, Lord Newburgh being allowed to accompany him for a few miles.

A third account given by one of the Escort ¹ states that his Majesty after dinner at Bagshot called for his coach, which they told him had gone before. He then ordered his horse which he perceived was lame, owing to a piece of nail having run into its foot. "A Knight near that Town then sent him a brave gelding, which the party was somewhat fearful might be light of foot for them, therefore some good horse were commanded for flankers till he came off the Downs."

All these agree that it was due to Harrison's precautions in surrounding him with a large party of horse that an escape was prevented. Whether he rode Newburgh's horse or not is a matter of little importance, he could never have succeeded in getting away.

While at Winchester the King had written again to Oudart ² :

"I am much shortned in tyme, because of the hast of the Messenger. Therefor I will only answer yours of the 15th instant (which I yesterday received) in that which is of most importance. *I*

¹ T.T., E, 536 (1).

² Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*. The words in italics are in cipher.

am of your mind concerning my escape and like well of the instruments you name, but you at London must lay the designe, I can only expect it. Wherefor if you doe your parts well (in which I desire you to use expedition) I hope it shall not fail on mine. I intend to send you my letters for London and Ormond as soon as I come to Windsor (which I expect will be on Saterday next) but sooner I cannot, So thanking you for your Newes and desiring to heare often from you I rest

Your good Friend

J.”

This plot appears to have no connexion with the attempt at Bagshot, but to have reference to some other scheme. Oudart was probably in charge of the arrangements to get the King out of England, should be succeed in escaping from his guards.

Newburgh at any rate was not deterred by his two failures, for, according to Mentet, he followed the King to Windsor

“where having alighted at an Inn he found a Gentleman who offered to assist him in making his Majesty’s escape and also promised to get his Majesty a pass key for opening all the Gates and likewise said that if his Majesty would do him the honour to trust him he durst engage to convey him out of the casemates which went under the Castle to the River side and which the Garrison knew nothing of. Newburgh gave the King an account of it by a letter which he got conveyed to him. And the King having the same day received the Pass Key, which the Gentleman had promised him, he sent Newburgh word that he would trust the Gentleman who had offered his service so handsomely and ordered him to have everything ready for his getting out of the Castle and that the ship he had hired might at the same time be in a readiness somewhere upon the coast for carrying him to Jersey as soon as he could get to her.

“All that was done according to the King’s orders but all was thwarted by the misfortune that always attended his

Majesty's affairs. For as all was ready for this deliverance which seemed infallible, his enemies intercepted 2 letters—one from the Queen and the other from Newburgh. As soon as they had decyphered them they searched the King and found the pass key in his pocket. An account thereof having been sent to London, two days after he was carried thither and imprisoned in St. James's Palace."

Here we have an account related in great detail of an attempted escape which is nowhere else recorded.

Mentet's narrative of the part taken by Newburgh in the previous attempts is often inaccurate, but some confirmation of it can generally be found elsewhere, and it has been suggested that he may have received his information from Newburgh himself.¹ The latter was a man of the highest character and it is not likely that he invented the whole story. The incidents of it appear improbable, but as will be shown, there is some evidence that an escape from Windsor was planned and that Harrington may possibly have assisted in it.

This is implied in Toland's *Life*.² He states that Harrington met the King as he was being taken to Windsor, and

"begged admittance to the boot of the coach that he might bid his master farewell, which being granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took him by the hand and pulled him into him. He was for 3 or 4 days permitted to stay but because he would not take an oath against assisting or concealing the King's escape he was not only discharged from his office but also for some time detained in custody, till Major General Ireton obtained his liberty."

The King on his arrival at Windsor was received by the people with great enthusiasm, and was lodged in his usual apartments, "towards the far end of

¹ See p. 115 n.

² In his edition of *Oceana*, 1771.

the Castle-Ward.”¹ There was some trouble in the evening, when “the Royalists began to drink and carouse to their dread sovereign.” The Captain of the Guard sent some musqueteers to apprehend them, who, meeting with resistance, had to fire and force their passage, with the result that three were killed and several were wounded before they were secured and committed to safe custody.²

Herbert tells us that Charles had liberty to walk where and when he pleased within the Castle and on the long Terrace without, but a very strict guard was kept upon him, and according to a newsletter “the Commissioners appointed by the Army managed things” with great discretion, one of them watching every night at His Majesty’s Chamber door and resident with him daily in his Chamber, none speaking to him but in one of their audience.³

They hoped by this means to prevent unauthorized persons from getting access to him, but in spite of all precautions he still managed to receive and send off his private correspondence. On December 27 he wrote to Firebrace acknowledging receipt of a letter from him and two from Mrs. Whorwood, to whom he sent a reply, and on the 30th to Hopkins, in which he said he had received his letter of the 28th⁴ and one from Mrs. Whorwood. He was glad that Hopkins had found so good a way of sending to him, and from both he desired a continuance of their correspondence.

¹ Herbert’s *Memoirs*. In what is now called the Upper Ward near the Keep. They are now the State Apartments.

² “Terrible and Bloody News from Windsor,” Dec. 24, 1648.

³ *T.T.*, E, 536 (30) *The Moderate*, Jan. 1, 1648/9.

⁴ From the date of Hopkins’ letter it is evident that both he and Mrs. Whorwood were now in London.

Lady Newburgh also availed herself of the "good way of sending," for Firebrace preserved a letter from her, still signed K. Aubigny, and dated only "Monday afternoone" (? Dec. 25) with reference to a dispatch she wished to send to the King.

Another document preserved by Firebrace, which bears no date or signature, appears to have been written to him by the person who smuggled the letters in and out of the Castle :

"Hee that trusts me with the inclosed ; tells mee the first name in the superscription is fictitious the second reall. I send the letter by this express : The writer of the inclosed desires as many of the choyce new Pamphlets and Mercuries as you think fit to send. If you have any letters to him, you are to superscribe thus for 100. On the outward case you need write nothing ; it is enough that the bearer brings what you return to him that sent him. Your most affectionate servant as agreeing in that Magno tertio¹ though as unknown to you as you to mee."

The King's desire to continue the correspondence was unfulfilled, the two letters of December 27 and 30 appear to have been the last he wrote, for early in January the method of it was discovered. It happened in the following way.

On January 3 the French Ambassador, who had just arrived in England, presented a letter from the Queen to Lord Fairfax, in which she desired to come to England to see the King previous to his trial, and to have a pass for her secure coming and going. Fairfax sent it to the Parliament who laid it aside.² The Ambassador also sent a private letter from the Queen to Windsor probably through Firebrace, and

¹ "Great third," a reference possibly to His Majesty—Firebrace and the writer being the first and second concerned in the correspondence.

² *T.T.*, E, 537 (13), Jan. 4, 1648/9.

this letter was found in its place of concealment, during His Majesty's absence from his bedchamber. It was also discovered that the person who handed it to the King was Herbert's servant, though it is expressly stated that his Master was not an accessory to it.¹ This servant was therefore the writer of the unsigned letter to Firebrace already quoted. What happened to him is not stated, but the King's correspondence with his friends was finally ended.

Mentet's story is therefore corroborated as far as the discovery of the Queen's letter is concerned. He, however, wrongly states that the King was taken to London in two days' time, on January 6, and this is the date also given approximately by Herbert, for according to his account Charles was "about a fortnight" at St. James's before he was taken to Whitehall "on January 19."²

Herbert is even more inaccurate than usual in his dates at this time. He gives only a few personal experiences at Windsor, but states that it was at St. James's that

"his Chamber was furnished by Mr. Kinnersley his servant, strict guards placed, and none suffered to attend on his Majesty's Bed-Chamber save Mr. Herbert. Nevertheless his usual Diet was kept up and the Gentlemen that formerly waited were permitted to perform their respective services in the Presence, where a State was placed, and for a few days all things with Decency and Honour observ'd. Sir Fulke Grevile, being Cup-Bearer, gave it upon his knee, Mr. Mildmay was Carver; Captain Preston sometimes Sewer, and kept the Robes; Mr. Ansty Gentleman Usher; Captain Burroughs, Mr. Firebrass, Mr. Muschamp had their places; Capt. Joyner was Cook; Mr. Babington Barber; Mr. Reading Page of the Back-Stairs; and some others also

¹ *T.T.*, E, 537 (20), Jan. 4, 1648/9.

² There was a rumour in London that the move was to be made on the 6th. (*T.T.*, E, 537/(13).)

waited. The King's Dishes were brought up covered, the Say¹ was given, and all things performed with Satisfaction on that point."

The ceremonial here described was that observed when the King first arrived at Windsor, and it gave great offence to the Puritans in the garrison. A correspondent wrote :

"We have the same odious, vain and wicked ceremonies of kneeling performed to him now as ever, tho' to be under an accusation of high treason. Where shall we find such men as will not bow the Knee to Baal, the Grand Delinquent and wickedest tyrant of the whole world." ²

Herbert further states that then (about January 19) orders were given "that thenceforth all State Ceremony should be forborn, and his Menial servants (though few in number) be lessened." The meals were then brought in by soldiers with no ceremony, and His Majesty in consequence contracted his Diet to two Dishes out of the Bill of Fare, and ate in private. His facts are probably right, but the order was given at Windsor on December 27.³ The King asked the reason for the change, and was told that it was according to the orders of the House, whereupon he replied that "he ne're lookt upon those any more than of ceremonies which were at the election of any whether they would use them or not." ⁴

To his guards he passed the matter off thus lightly, but to Herbert he confided what he really felt, "saying that the Respect and Honour denied him,

¹ Or Assay, the tasting of each dish before presenting to the King.

² *T. T.*, E, 536 (30), *The Moderate*, Windsor, Jan. 1, 1648/9.

³ *A short View of the late Troubles in England*, by Sir William Dugdale, 1681.

⁴ *Perfect Weekly Account*, Dec. 27, 1648—Jan. 3, 1648/9.

no Sovereign Prince ever wanted ; nor yet Subjects of high Degree, according to ancient practice, further expressing, Is there anything more contemptible than a despised Prince ? ”

The names of the servants given by Herbert are in the main those who had come from Hurst Castle, but Sir Fulke Greville replaces Lieut.-Col. Robinson, and Major Duckett disappears, while Burroughs, Firebrace and Babbington are added to the list. Babbington may have been allowed to come to Windsor as the King had brought no Barber with him, but it is very unlikely that Burroughs was permitted to return, as he was known to have been implicated in the plots at Carisbrooke, and the letters quoted above show that Firebrace was in London. Also there is no mention in his *Narrative* that he ever saw the King again after he left Newport.

On January 2 the House of Commons ordered that Colonel Whitchcote the Governor of Windsor Castle be empowered to discharge and “ turn out such of the Attendants who attend and wait on the King as are malignants and ill-affected persons.” It is not stated if any were dismissed in consequence of this order, but there seems to be no doubt that it was about this time that the number of attendants was reduced to the minimum.

On January 6, after the discovery of the Queen’s letter, the House “ being informed that the King’s present condition is such as admits of an easy possibility of escape,” further “ ordered that the General be acquainted therewith, who is hereby required to take speedy care for close securing of the King’s person and preventing of recourse unto him unless by order of this House.” ¹

¹ *House of Commons Journals.*

Here is evidence that the Parliament had some suspicion of another attempt, and if Toland is right, it was directed against Harrington, of whom they had had doubts at Carisbrooke. It is however certain that he was not reinstated in his former office, even for a few days, for Herbert distinctly states that he himself was the only one admitted to the bed-chamber. But he may have come to Windsor, and might even have been the gentleman whom Newburgh met in the tavern. Toland, however, does not say that he was actually engaged in planning an escape, only that he was arrested for refusing to swear that he would not assist in it. He states that his authorities for the events of Harrington's life were his letters and other MSS. papers, and information given to him by his sister, Lady Ashton, and what he could hear from the mouths of his surviving acquaintance. The incident of his arrest may therefore very probably be true. With regard to Newburgh's share in the matter, it appears clear that if a letter from him was intercepted, it was not such as to compromise him, for no action was taken by the Parliament. After the execution of the King he entered into correspondence with Charles II, and it was not till the middle of 1650, when an incriminating letter came into their hands, that to escape arrest he fled with his wife to The Hague.

On January 19, the King was taken from Windsor to St. James's Palace, and on the following day his trial was opened at Westminster Hall. A final attempt to rescue him is related by Ashburnham :

“ And lastly I laid the designe of his escape from St. James' and had attempted, had Hee not been closely restrained that verie day it was to be put in execution, of which there are three Persons of honour yet living who were to have had

equall shares in that dutifull action, but man proposeth, and God disposeth, and no Creature is able to resist his power.”¹

He does not tell us the names of his fellow-conspirators, but we should like to believe that they were those three who had worked hardest and risked most in the King's service, Firebrace, Titus, and Newburgh.

The King appeared before the Court on four days, Saturday, January 20, Monday, January 23, Tuesday, 24, and Friday, 27. Surrounded though he was with implacable enemies, with no friend to plead his cause, he now showed no sign of irresolution or want of nerve ; his fate he knew was decided already, and with the same dignity and patience with which he had borne all the trials of his imprisonment he now awaited the verdict of his Judges.

Herbert was the only one of his old servants who was allowed to attend him during the last days before his execution. He now tells us how the casket was returned to the King which he had sent for safe keeping to Mrs. Whorwood before he left Oxford² :

“That evening the King took a ring from his finger, and gave it to Mr. Herbert ; it had an emerald set between two diamonds, and commanded him, as late as it was, to go with it from St. James's to a Lady living then in Channel Row, on the backside of King Street in Westminster, and give it to her, without saying anything. . . . Getting the word from Colonel Tomlinson. . . . Mr. Herbert passed currently though in all places where Centinels were, he was bid stand till the Corporals had the word from him. Being arrived

¹ *Ashburnham's Narrative*. This is not dated, but it must have been written between 1660 and 1671, the year of his death. Titus and Firebrace both survived him. Newburgh died in 1670.

² See p. 51.

at the Lady's House, he deliver'd her the Ring ; Sir (said she) give me leave to show you the way into the Parlour, where she desired him to stay till she returned, which in a little time she did, and gave him a little Cabinet which was closed with Three Seals ; . . . praying him to deliver it to the same Hand which sent the Ring, which was left with her.

" The word secured Mr. Herbert's Return unto the King. When the Bishop (Juxon) being but newly gone to his Lodging . . . his Majesty said to Mr. Herbert, he should see it open'd in the morning.

" Morning being come the Bishop was early with the King and after Prayers his Majesty broke the Seals open, and shew'd them what was contain'd in it ; there were Diamonds and Jewels, most part broken Georges and Garters. ' You see (said he) All the wealth now in my Power to give my Two Children.' "

In a marginal note in Herbert's own handwriting, in the MSS. of his *Memoirs* in the possession of the present representatives of his family, the lady's name is given as Mrs. Whorwood.¹ A second copy in his handwriting was sent by him to Sir William Dugdale, which is now in the British Museum (*Harl. MSS.* 4705). At the end of this is a copy in Dugdale's writing of a letter written to him by Herbert and dated November 3, 1681. In this he wrote " It was not Mrs. Jane Whorwood to whom I gave the ring His Majesty sent to me. . . . She was Wife to a Knight, and if it be desired I will give you her name and shall satisfy you therein." In the margin of Herbert's MSS. opposite the words " A Lady then living in Channel Row," Dugdale had written " The Wife of Brome Whorwood, Esq. daughter of Mr. James Maxwell's Wife by Ryder her former husband, " but on receiving the letter he crossed this out and wrote above " She was Wife to Sir William Wheeler, the King's Laundress." In

¹ Quoted from Mr. Allan Fea's *Memoirs of the Martyr King*.

the printed edition of 1702, she is accordingly identified as Mrs. Wheeler.

The latter was a devoted servant to the King, but Mrs. Whorwood was his most intimate friend, and it is to her that he would have wished to send the ring as a last remembrance of him. If Herbert's afterthought is right, it was perhaps because Mrs. Whorwood was unable to be present, and had asked Mrs. Wheeler to act as her deputy, but we should prefer to believe that his original note was the correct one, and that it was Mrs. Whorwood herself who rendered this last service to the King whom she had served so well. No proof is possible, for the subsequent history of this ring has never been traced. Mrs. Whorwood retired into private life and probably died before the Restoration, the place and date of her death being unknown.

Several other rings presented by King Charles are still in existence ; one of them is in the possession of the Earl of Denbigh at Newnham Paddox.¹ It contained a portrait of the King set in diamonds, and according to tradition was given to Firebrace on the scaffold. This we know to be impossible, for he was not present at the execution. It may have been given to him when he left Carisbrooke in April, 1648, or when he took his leave at Newport in the following November. But there is no mention of it in any document written by him which has been preserved. In his *Narrative*, after relating that they took the King to Hurst Castle, he continues :

¹ Firebrace's granddaughter, Hester, married in 1695 Basil, 4th Earl of Denbigh. His great-grandson, Sir Cordell Firebrace, Bart. of Melford Hall, Suffolk, was his last male heir, and on his death in 1759 the ring passed with the property to Hester's grandson, the 6th Earl.

“ And from thence to his Martyrdome, the Historie whereof is left to Posterity, by severall worthy hands, which makes me the more admire the reason of your commands to me in this particular ; unless it be yet to aggravate (if possible) the horrid actions of those sons of Belial, who reduced that great, wise, and pious King, their Lord and Sovereigne to those extremities ; by depriving him, for many months together, of any manner of knowledge, that he had a friend remaining alive in the world ; or that there was anything in being, except those vipers about him ; but by the private intelligence he had by the hands of me so inconsiderable as I am.

“ I should have added much to what I have sayd, but thinke I have sufficiently tyred you. I shall only conclude with this ; that if I had ten thousand lives ; and had spent them all (as I should have willingly done) to have preserved that great prince, I had been more than sufficiently recompenced in that late act of kindness of his, when, the very day before that horrid murther was committed upon his sacred person, he was pleased to remember my service ; and to give particular chardge to that worthy prelate Dr. Juxon then Bishopp of London (for these reasons) to recommend me to the King his son ; which that good Bishop left in a Testimonial under his hand, as a Legacie to

Sir

Your most affectionate and
very humble servant
HENRY FIREBRACE.”

He here seems to imply that Bishop Juxon's certificate of services rendered was the only remembrance he received from the King, but he may have intentionally omitted to mention the gift of the ring as being a personal matter of no interest to the Duke of Ormonde at whose request the narrative was probably written.

After the last act of the tragedy, the King's body remained at Whitehall until February 3, when it was taken to St. James's Palace. An application to bury him in Westminster Abbey was refused by

the Parliament, and it was finally decided that the interment should take place in St. George's Chapel at Windsor on February 9. Herbert, Mildmay, Duckett and Preston were appointed to carry it out, and the four Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Earl of Southampton, together with Dr. Juxon, were given leave to attend. The body—

“was carried in a hearse covered with black velvet, drawn by six horses also covered with black. Four coaches followed, two of them covered likewise with black cloth, in which were about a dozen Gentlemen and others, most of them being such as had waited on his Majesty at Carisbrooke Castle and other places, since his Majesty's going from Newcastle, all of them being in black.”¹

In the letter to Sir William Dugdale already quoted, Herbert says that the hearse was driven by Mr. Murry, the King's coachman, and that mourning was given to seventeen gentlemen and other inferior servants. Captain Joyner, the Master Cook, supplied three dozen of torches. The names of the inferior attendants were written in the margin,² most of them being known to Firebrace, Dowcett and Levett.

Herbert unfortunately does not give the names of the dozen Gentlemen who rode in the coaches, but Firebrace and most of those who had been in close touch with the King and whose names are found in the preceding pages must have taken this opportunity of paying their last tribute of respect to their late Master.

¹ Herbert's *Memoirs*.

² The names were not entered by Dugdale in the copy of the letter in the *Harl. MSS.*

After the arrival at Windsor the body was taken to his usual bedchamber and then

“brought down into St. George’s Hall, whence after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn pace (much sorrow in most Faces discernable) carried by Gentlemen of some Quality, and in mourning, the Lords in like Habits follow’d the Royal Corps. The Governor and several Gentlemen and Officers and Attendants came after.

“This is memorable that, at such time as the King’s body was brought out of St. George’s Hall, the Sky was serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and fell so fast, as by the time they came to the West-End of the Royal Chapel, the black Velvet Pall was white (the colour of Innocency) being thick covered with Snow. So went the white King to his Grave in the 48th year of his Age, and the 22nd year and 10th month of his Reign.”

●

CHAPTER IX

PAST SERVICES REWARDED

WITH the death of the King the task which Firebrace had undertaken came to an end. He had failed to save him, but the failure was due to no fault of his. Throughout the whole period of his service his efforts had been untiring, his ingenuity in overcoming obstacles and in devising new schemes had never been found wanting, the confidence which Charles placed in him had endured to the very end. Of the little band of conspirators, some went abroad to France or Holland, and took part in the young King's efforts to secure his throne, but Firebrace was not of that type. It is doubtful whether he was ever a Royalist by conviction. His devotion to the King was a personal one, he hated those "sons of Belial" who had put him to death, but he saw no need to leave his wife and child and go into exile to fight for a King whom he did not know and probably had never seen. The new regime was not vindictive, even Ashburnham had been allowed to compound, though it cost him half his estate. The smaller men were left alone, as long as they did not interfere in political affairs, and Firebrace still had a friend in his old master, the Earl of Denbigh, who, though he had refused to act as a Judge in the trial of the King, had been appointed a Member of the Council of State very soon after his execution. When he passed into the service of the King with Denbigh's consent and probably at his instigation, there may

have been an agreement between them that he should return when opportunity offered. Whether that be so or not, there is no doubt that he soon resumed his old position and that Denbigh was glad to regain the service of his faithful and efficient secretary.

Denbigh retired from public life early in 1651, and for the rest of his life occupied himself mainly with the management of his estate at Newnham Paddox in Warwickshire. In the adjoining village of Monks Kirby Firebrace settled with his wife and family, with the anticipation of a life occupied in congenial work, which, while it offered no prospects of material advancement, provided him at any rate with the means of livelihood, and a period of rest after the strenuous times through which he had passed in the King's service.

For the first two years, however, the quiet life to which he looked forward was disturbed owing to his becoming involved in two lawsuits which were now brought against him. One of these, in which the Rev. Richard Burney was the plaintiff, has been already related.¹

The other was a Chancery suit instituted by his wife's uncle Thomas Dowell, and concerned the land held by that family in Stoke Golding. In his Bill of Complaint he described himself as "late of Stoke Golding, fellmonger, but now a poor distressed prisoner in the county gaol." It appeared from the contents and from the answer made thereto by Firebrace and his wife, that Nicholas Dowell, her grandfather, who died in 1623, held a farm in Stoke, which Thomas estimated at 80 acres of the yearly value of £50 and worth "£1,000 to be sold."

¹ See p. 20.

Firebrace and Elizabeth, however, gave it an area of only 27 acres worth "£26 per annum and no more."¹ Nicholas Dowell had four sons by his first marriage, George, Thomas, Daniel, and John, and three by his second, Peter, Robert and William. George inherited the property on his father's death, and dying without issue in 1633, left half of it to his wife Joan, and half to his brother Thomas, with remainder of both moieties to his niece Elizabeth Firebrace, and to her heirs for ever. Joan died in July 1646, and Elizabeth and her husband entered into possession of her moiety.

This is Firebrace and Elizabeth's version of what happened. That of Thomas is quite different. He stated that Nicholas Dowell in his lifetime had leased the whole property to his fourth son John for twenty-one years to begin after his death, and that John entered into possession in 1623 and leased it again to his brother Daniel, who held it for twelve or fourteen years. He agreed that George became the owner on his father's death, but stated that on George's death in 1633 he inherited the whole. The statement as to the leases may have been true, but the twenty-one years expired in 1644, and Firebrace and Elizabeth would have had no difficulty in disproving that he succeeded to the whole estate, by the production of the probate of the wills of George and his wife Joan.² He further accused Firebrace and Elizabeth, or one of them, of inducing her eldest sister Hanna in December, 1636, to bring an action against him as executor of John, who had apparently died,³ to recover £100 left to her by

¹ In the I.P.M. George Dowell, 1633, the property is described as "a messuage and 27 acres of meadow."

² These wills are in the Probate Court at Leicester.

³ John's will is not now extant.

the said John. The defendants pointed out that this was impossible, as Elizabeth at that time was only twelve years old and Firebrace "a stranger to her."¹ It is probable, however, that the suit was brought by her father Daniel.

The proceedings as stated by Thomas now become too complicated to follow in detail. He executed a mortgage of the property² in favour of John Roberts of Higham, in order to pay Hanna her £100, and when he called it in, again mortgaged it to one Joyce Parker. The brothers continued to fight one another until after Firebrace's marriage with Elizabeth in June, 1645, Thomas becoming more and more involved with Roberts and Joyce Parker as time went on. Elizabeth shortly afterwards inherited her moiety, and Firebrace, being apprehensive that Thomas, being "then well stricken in years and of a dissolute disposition," might suddenly die, and that the estate, now in the hands of Joyce Parker and John Roberts, "might come to an end," they having threatened, unless they were satisfied of their debts, "to plough up the said moiety" and make "any havock and spoile thereof and therein," in 1646 bought up the mortgages for £50, they conveying the property to one George Lyddyate in trust for Firebrace and his wife.

Firebrace further "of his compassion and love for Complainant who was poor and of low estate and natural uncle to his wife" gave him £4 and allowed him to "live in a messuage and orchard of the annual value of 40 shillings" and would have "continued some such charitable compassion for a longer time if he had not proved so troublesome

¹ Firebrace in 1636 was sixteen years of age.

² I.e., of the half which he inherited in 1632.

and chargeable to him and his friends by this and other suits."

Thomas appears to have lived in the said messuage until about March 1648 when he was arrested on the suit of Edward Ashby of Nuneaton, shoemaker, a maternal uncle of Elizabeth, for a debt of £30, and lodged in the County Gaol. He accused Firebrace of having brought about his arrest by buying up the debt, which Firebrace denied.

Most of the above is taken from Firebrace's Answer to the Bill of Complaint. Many of Thomas's statements are clearly impossible. All through he shows the greatest animus against his niece and nephew-in-law, to whom he credited all his misfortunes, and from what we know of Firebrace's character his version is likely to have been the more accurate one. No documents have been found to show how the suit ended, possibly it lapsed through the death of the Complainant. At any rate, Firebrace and Elizabeth kept possession of the whole estate. Daniel Dowell died in 1653. Elizabeth being already well provided for, he gave her only "ten shillings of goods and currant money of England." The remainder of his property he left to his youngest daughter, Abigail. The eldest daughter Hanna is not mentioned and was probably dead.

His legal difficulties thus ended, Firebrace was able to devote all his attention to his duties as Lord Denbigh's confidential secretary. Of these the only one of which any record has been preserved was that of conducting a long correspondence with Sir William Dugdale, the Herald and Antiquary, on the subject of the pedigree of the Feilding family, which he was now engaged in compiling. This correspondence was begun in January 1653/4, and

continued until November, 1659,¹ when it appears that the pedigree was completed, for Dugdale recorded in his *Diary* under date November 15 of that year, "Received at the hands of Mr. Henry Firebrace by appointment of the Earl of Denbigh, the sum of £100 which he gave me for drawing his Pedigree, whereof I gave Mr. Firebrace £5."²

During the period of the Commonwealth Firebrace's family was increased by four sons, Henry, Basil, George and John, but the date and place of birth of the three eldest have not been recorded, nor have their baptismal registers been found. From their ages given in the visitation of 1682, it would appear that Henry the eldest was born in 1650, possibly in London, and Basil in 1653 probably at Monks Kirby.³ For the date of George's birth we have no clue whatever, as he died before 1682, but he was probably the third son. John was born at Monks Kirby on February 16, 1656/7, and baptized on the 22nd. He was buried there on May 2, 1659. Very shortly after the death of his son, Firebrace sustained a more severe loss in the death of his wife, who was buried also at Monks Kirby on June 2, 1659.

There is no evidence that he took any part in the events which led up to the Restoration of King Charles II, but a curious story is found in

¹ The letters are 58 in number, and comprise drafts of Firebrace's letters and Dugdale's original replies. Four of Firebrace's original letters, dated 22 July, 5 Aug., 12 Aug. and 26 Aug., 1655, were preserved by Dugdale, and were included by him in a MS. volume which came into the possession of Sir Thomas Phillips. They were sold at Sotheby's in 1903. Their present whereabouts is unknown.

² *Life, Diary and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, Knt.*, edited by William Hamper, F.S.A., 1827.

³ The Register begins in that year.

Gough's Additions to Camden's *Britannia*.¹ Under the heading of "Huntingdonshire" an account is given of the family of Cromwell. In it he states :

" Titus was author of the famous pamphlet against Oliver Cromwell intituled ' Killing no murder ' ² published under the name of Wm. Allen in which it was plainly shewn that one who had violated all laws could derive protection from no law. Cromwell got intelligence of this and determined to destroy him.

" The Royalists used to meet at a certain Tavern in London and Cromwell knew of it. He sent a trusty officer with a party of soldiers to seize Titus and Firebrace of Suffolk.³ The Officer ordered his men to halt at the door till he went in for information. He privately asked the master of the house whether they were there, telling him that he came not to take away but to save their lives. The master went with him to the room, the officer entered, but took care first to throw his red cloak over his head. His speech was very concise. ' If Titus or Firebrace are in the room, let them escape for their lives this instant.'

" He directly retired and called in the soldiers to take them. The two gentlemen (Titus and Firebrace) escaped out of the Window, mounted their horses that night, and made the best of their way to General Monk in Scotland.

" With him they returned at the Restoration. They advertized this affair in all the public papers, and desired the Officer to apply to them, with promise of ample reward for his kindness. But neither of them could ever hear of him,

¹ *Britannia*. By Wm. Camden, ed. 1607. Translated by Richard Gough and enlarged by the latest discoveries, 1789. The account is not included in Gough's Manuscript now in the Bodleian. In the printed book the pages bear duplicate numbers, and appear to have been inserted as an afterthought before binding.

² *Killing no Murder*. Briefly discoursed in three Questions by William Allen, June, 1657.

³ Henry Firebrace had no connexion with Suffolk. It was not till 1710 that his grandson, Charles Firebrace, married the heiress to the Melford estate in that county.

and Titus always supposed that Cromwell found or suspected the Officer who had deceived him and therefore hanged him up in his stead."

This story is copied by Clutterbuck in his *History of Hertfordshire* without comment, and no confirmatory evidence has been found. If the event occurred as related it must have taken place between June 1657, when Titus's pamphlet was published, and September 1658, when Cromwell died. It may be true as far as Titus is concerned, for he was deeply implicated in the plots for the restoration of the King, and we find that the Council of State on May 23, 1658, ordered that Adam Browne, Mr. Kidwall, Col. Massey, Sir Henry Moore and Capt. Titus should be seized and examined.¹ He may have made his escape in the manner indicated and his companion may have been one of the others named in the Order, but he was certainly not Firebrace, who at the time was quietly conducting Lord Denbigh's correspondence at Newnham.

At the Restoration in 1660 his connexion with Denbigh came to an end. He had strong claims to consideration at the hands of the King on account of his services to his father, and if he could obtain any place in the Household, could look forward to advancement. He had also to consider the future of his children. By moving to London he could provide for their education and give them a good start in life. Denbigh had given him a sure refuge during the Commonwealth, but could be of no assistance to him under a King whom he had consistently opposed. He therefore decided to apply for a post, and in May, 1660, sent in his petition in the following terms :

¹ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1658/9.*

"To the King's most Excellent Ma^{tie}
 the humble peti^{con} of Henry Firebrace
 Humbly Sheweth

that ye pet^r having faithfully served the King Y^r Ma^{ties} royall Fathir of glorious memory in the sevrall offices of Page of his Ma^{ties} Bedchamber, Yeoman of his Ma^{ties} Robes and Clerke of his Kitchen, And having also bene hono^{red} to be entrusted in his Ma^{ties} most private and important affaires to ye greatest hazard and expence as he can make now to appeare under his Ma^{ties} owne hand.

The pet^r most humbly beseecheth yr sacred Ma^{tie} will graciously please to give order that y^r pet^r may be admitted and sworne yo^r Ma^{tie} servant in any one of the afores^d places, or otherwise, as to yo^r Ma^{tie} shall seeme fitt

And y^r pet^r as in duty bound shall ever
 pray for yo^r Matie." ¹

As related in the concluding paragraph of his *Narrative*, King Charles had given particular charge to Bishop Juxon to recommend him to his son,² but it does not appear that any certificate from Juxon was attached to the petition. It is possible that the Bishop at his request brought some personal influence to bear, for it was granted without undue delay, and on July 20, 1660, he was sworn in as third Clerk of the Kitchen by Warrant of the King and of the Lord Steward dated July 17.

The certificate signed by Juxon after his election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, which is among the Firebrace Letters in the British Museum, was not given to him till the following year. It runs as follows :

"These are to certify that our late dread Sovereign of blessed Memory upon the 29th Day of January 1648 being the day immediately before that horrid and execrable Murder

¹ *State Papers Domestic* ; Charles II, Vol. 2 ; *Petitions Household*, May, 1660.

² See p. 193.

was committed upon the person of his sacred Ma^{tie} did give me in charge, to recommend to his son our gracious Sovereign that now is, Mr. Henry Firebrace, as having been a person very faithfull and serviceable to him in his greatest extremities, and most strict Imprisonments, and therefore fitt to be employed and intrusted by his Ma^{tie} that now is. Given under my hand this five and twentieth Day of November 1661.

W. CANT : ”

Lord Denbigh was equally successful in petitioning for the King's pardon. He submitted two Memorials in which he pleaded his services to the King before the Civil War, and the debts still due to him from the Crown on account of his Embassy to Venice. He also laid stress on the sincerity of his intentions during the war, and on the efforts he had made to bring about a peaceable solution. In his second Memorial he made the reference to Firebrace which has already been quoted.¹ He received a pardon dated June 20, 1660, by which all crimes and misdemeanours up to June 10 were forgiven and his lands restored. For the remainder of his life he devoted himself to the care of his estates. He died in 1675, leaving no issue, and his titles and property descended to his nephew William, son of his brother the Earl of Desmond.²

Many of the late King's attendants in his imprisonment now received the reward of their services. John Ashburnham returned to his old place as Groom of the Bedchamber, and his loans were repaid by Crown leases. William Legge declined an earldom, but was made a Groom of the Bedchamber, Master of the Armouries and Lieut.-General of the Ordnance. Sir John Berkeley, who had been created Baron

¹ See p. 17.

² *Royalist Father and Roundhead Son*, by Cecilia Countess of Denbigh (1915).

Berkeley of Stratton in 1658, became a Commissioner of the Navy and in 1661 Lord President of Connaught. Lord Newburgh, whose wife had died in Holland, was in December created Earl of Newburgh, Viscount Kinnaird and Baron Livingstone of Flatrang. Titus continued to hold the post of Groom of the Bedchamber which he had held at The Hague and was appointed Keeper of Deal Castle. He was also voted £3,000 for his services by the Convention Parliament, in which he had a seat, but it is doubtful if that sum was ever paid.

One, however, of the old servants, who had suffered discharge and probably imprisonment at the hands of his own side on account of his personal regard for the King, now paid the penalty for his political opinions expressed during the Commonwealth. This was James Harrington. In 1656 he had published *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, in which he formulated a plan for a republic based on a moderate aristocracy. This had a great success, and in the next three years he followed it up with various political tracts. In November, 1659, he formed a Club called the Rota to discuss the introduction of his scheme. It existed for only four months, but was not forgotten by the Restoration Government, who in November, 1661, committed him to the Tower on the ground that he had endeavoured at several meetings to change the form of government. He was later released and was allowed to live unmolested in Westminster, where he died in 1677.

A flood of petitions for employment poured in from old servants of lower rank and from others who had, or thought they had, claims on the King. Among them were some who had been in attendance at Carisbrooke. Sir Fulke Greville applied "for

a place as Gentleman Usher or Cupbearer in which capacity he had served the two late Kings." Abraham Dowcett petitioned for a place of the Bedchamber or Yeoman of the Robes, basing his claim on the services rendered to the King at Holmby.¹ His name appears in the Records of the Lord Chamberlain's Department as Sewer of the Chamber Extraordinary on September 6, 1661. He was also restored to his old post at Windsor which he had held under the Earl of Holland when Constable of Windsor Castle, as Keeper of Paddock Walk, with reversion to his two sons² "on account of his good and faithful service for divers years past." William Levet's application for the place of Gentleman Usher and Quartermaster was granted, but he had to surrender it to John Adye, who claimed that he had held that post in 1637. He was, however, admitted as Page of the Backstairs. Francis Cressett sent in a petition for the repayment of £1,455 "lent and expended for his late Majestie out of his own Moneys and not in the Publique accompt." Some of the items in his list are of interest for their bearing on the events of 1648.

£300 had been supplied to Mrs. Whorwood in the Isle of Wight, to which Nicholas Oudart is cited as a witness. This was probably given to her before she went to London to seek for information.³ £20 was paid for "a suite and Coate Bootes spurrs whip

¹ See p. 37.

² The elder, Abraham, was brought up by Lord Robert Brook, who gave him an annuity of £200 for life. John, the younger, became Groom of the Bedchamber to Prince Rupert, who at his death gave him £1,000. Later he was Lieut.-Colonel in Brewer's Regiment. He died in 1696.

³ See p. 151.

Montero Case of Pistolls and boxe above." In the margin are the names of Mr. Ffierbrass and Mr. Kinnersley. These would have been the King's outfit for the projected escape on March 20. "£300 to Col. Bamfield about ye Duke of Yorke." This seems to refer to the Duke's escape on April 21, in which Bamfield was implicated. The petition was accompanied by a certificate signed by Lord Newburgh and dated March 15, 1661, bearing witness to his loyalty to the late King and the sufferings he endured in his service.

The King had no money in the Treasury to pay his father's debts, but a post in the Household cost nothing, and Cressett was duly appointed a Groom of the Privy Chamber. Another old Royalist agent, Dr. John Barwick, appears in the Records as Chaplain in Ordinary, and his nephew Dr. Peter Barwick as Physician in Ordinary.

Of the remainder of those who had worked for the King in 1647 and 1648, Worsley continued to live quietly on his estate in the Island. He was knighted by King Charles II at Carisbrooke on the occasion of his visit there in 1665. Nicholas Oudart entered the service of the Prince of Orange, Herbert received a baronetcy at the Restoration, but took no further part in public affairs. The subsequent history of Sir William Hopkins and his son George is told in a petition presented to Charles II by George Hopkins which bears no date, and which is printed in the introduction to the Hopkins Letters in Wagstaffe's *Vindication of King Charles the Martyr*. From it we learn that Sir William "disbursed considerable sums of money to supply His Majesty's occasions at Newport, and was in consequence obliged to sell his house there and retire with his son to Ireland, where he died." At the Restoration

his son appears to have sent in a petition backed up by some of the letters, and the King

“ was then graciously pleased to give him a Troop of Horse in the standing Army of Ireland, and to command the Earl of Orrery (when he went Lord Justice) to settle an Estate in Land upon him, and to grant him £2,000 out of the Years Rent, payable to the King by the Adventures of that Kingdom. But in respect of the many Persons of greater Quality and Merit to prefer, the unsettlement of that Nation, as to the decision of Title of Lands, and the falling short of the Money aforesaid, nothing has been done according to His Majesty's gracious Intentions.”

Nothing is said of the outcome of this petition, so it is probable that George Hopkins's services went unrewarded.

A Petition was also sent in by Alexander Smith who had been appointed Eweryman and Yeoman of the Mouth at Newcastle, but was dismissed by Hammond at Carisbrooke. According to his own statement “ the King would allow no one else to wait upon him,” but his name never appeared among the King's loyal servants, and as far as we know he failed to get a post. But John Burroughs, who was concerned in the escape of May 28, 1648, was more fortunate. He was appointed Clerk of the Spicery by Warrant of the King and the Lord Steward on November 14, 1660.

Thus most of those who had been most active in the late King's service were duly rewarded. Of three only we find no record, Richard Osborne, Jane Whorwood, and Lady Wheeler, the laundress. They had perhaps died during the Commonwealth. The name of Mary Lee occurs among the appointments as laundress. It is possible that she was the Mary who was assistant to Lady Wheeler and was known as B in the King's letters to Firebrace, but

her surname is never mentioned, so identification is impossible.

The head of the Department to which Firebrace was now appointed was the Lord Steward, the Duke of Ormonde. He presided over the Board of Green Cloth, whose chief officers were the Treasurer, Comptroller, Cofferer, and Master of the Household. There were also two Clerks of the Green Cloth, and two Clerk Comptrollers. Their chief duty was the examining and passing of all the accounts, but the records preserved in the P.R.O. show that every detail connected with the supply of provisions and wine, coals, etc., lodgings for the officials, appointments of servants, assessments to poll tax, and many other matters, came under their control.

The Board had also power to punish all offenders within the verge of jurisdiction of the palace, which extended in every direction for two hundred yards from the gates in the courtyard.

The officers in charge of the Kitchen were the Chief Clerk with three assistant Clerks. Next in rotation were the Master Cooks for the King, the Queen, and the Household, who ruled a multitude of Sergeants, Grooms, Pages and Children, ending with the Turnbroaches who turned the spits. Another important Officer was the Sergeant of the Wine Cellar.

At the Restoration the Board of Green Cloth with its subordinate officers was constituted as follows :

Treasurer	.	.	.	.	Frederick Cornwallis
Comptroller	.	.	.	.	Sir Charles Berkeley
Cofferer	.	.	.	.	William Ashburnham
Master of the Household	.	.	.	.	Sir Herbert Price
Elder Clerk of the Green Cloth	.	.	.	.	Sir Robert Fenn
Younger Clerk	„	„	„	„	John Crane

Elder Clerk Comptroller . . .	Sir Henry Wood
Younger " " . . .	Stephen Fox
Chief Clerk of the Kitchen and Supernumerary Clerk Comp- troller	} William Boreman
2nd Clerk of the Kitchen . . .	
3rd " " " . . .	Leonard Pinckney
4th " " " . . .	Henry Firebrace
Sergeant of the Wine Cellar . .	John Clements
	Richard Dalton

Sir Robert Fenn died soon after his appointment and John Crane disappears from the list, for on 14 January, 1660/1, Wood and Fox were promoted to be Clerks of the Green Cloth, George Barker and William Boreman becoming Clerk Comptrollers.

Most if not all of these were old servants of Charles I or companions in exile of Charles II. Cornwallis had returned with the King, and was created a Peer in April, 1661. He died in the following January, when Sir Charles Berkeley was promoted to his place, and Sir Hugh Pollard was appointed Comptroller. Berkeley was the elder brother of Lord Berkeley of Stratton. He had also been in Holland with the King. In 1665 he succeeded by special remainder to the title of Viscount FitzHardinge, which had been conferred on his son. After the death of Lord Cornwallis he held the office of Treasurer until his death in 1668.

William Ashburnham, a younger brother of John Ashburnham, had been Governor of Weymouth and held it for the King in 1644. Pepys frequently met him to discuss Treasury matters, and also on social occasions. In 1666 they both dined at Sir Stephen Fox's house: "a very genteel dinner and fashion and excellent discourse; and nothing like an experienced man and courtier, and such is the Cofferer Ashburnham." He also tells us that he

met there "Sir Stephen Fox's lady, a fine woman and seven of the prettiest children of their's that ever I knew almost."¹

Stephen Fox had assisted in the King's escape after the battle of Worcester in 1651, and in 1654 was appointed to manage his household affairs. Charles wished to give him the post of Cofferer, but finding that Ashburnham had the reversion, gave him an augmentation of his arms. In 1661 he was made Paymaster General and he held other lucrative places. He was knighted in 1665. In 1680 Evelyn estimated him to be worth £200,000, "honestly gotten and unenvied which is next to a miracle. With all this he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesie as ever he was. He is generous, and lives very honourably, of a sweet nature, well spoken, well bred and highly in His Majestie's esteem."

Sir Henry Wood had been Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I. He went to France with the Queen in 1644 as Treasurer of her Household. Charles II made him a Baronet. Evelyn and Pepys both describe him as very wealthy and of eccentric character.

William Boreman had held the post of Clerk of the Kitchen to Charles I. In the King's Warrant appointing him Chief Clerk and Supernumerary Clerk Comptroller dated August 31, 1660, it is stated that "Our Royal Father did formerly nominate and appoint him out of the good opinion he had held of him to attend upon him in the place of a Clerk Comptroller which place he did execute at the treaty of the Isle of Wight with great fidelity and approbation." He is therefore identified as

¹ Two of these children were later raised to the Peerage as Earl of Ilchester and Viscount Holland.

the gentleman to whom Firebrace wished to hand over his office as Clerk of the Kitchen.¹

Leonard Pinckney was in 1660 one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer.² He was a friend of Pepys, who mentions his "seeing Mr. Pinckney at his own house when he showed me how he had always kept the Lion and Unicorn in the back of his Chimney bright, in expectation of the King's coming again." Pepys also relates that he and his sons accompanied him in the Fleet under Sir Edward Montagu which brought back the King in May, 1660. On his appointment as Clerk of the Kitchen he was allowed to hand over his post as Teller to his son William.

Richard Dalton was the son of Richard Dalton, yeoman, of Leatherhead, Co. Surrey. He is first heard of in 1641 as holding the humble post of Turnbroach in the Kitchen of Charles I, but rose to that of Yeoman of the Cellar. In his petition for employment at the Restoration he applied for the appointment of Sergeant of the Bakehouse, as the place of Sergeant of the Wine Cellar had been bestowed on Mr. Hethwait. He was, however, sworn Gentleman and Yeoman of the Mouth in August, 1660, and Sergeant of the Wine Cellar in the following October. This he held till his death in 1681. Pepys let him his house and during the negotiations drank with him on several occasions in the wine cellar at Whitehall.

Boreman was definitely promoted to be a Clerk Comptroller in January, 1660/1, and Pinckney succeeded him as Chief Clerk, Firebrace as 2nd Clerk, and Clements as 3rd Clerk. Ralph Jackson filled the vacancy as 4th Clerk.

¹ See p. 141.

² Note in Wheatley's edition of Pepys' *Diary*, 1904.

The King's coronation took place on April 23, 1661, and all the Officers of the Household attended. Three Clerks of the Kitchen are mentioned as being on duty at the Banquet, "all suted in black Fugar'd saten Gowns and velvet Caps in fashion like those worn by the Clerk Comptrollers."¹

The wages of the Chief Clerk were £44 6s. 8d. per month, and of the Junior Clerks £22 16s. 3d. They were entitled also to food or to board wages in lieu thereof. It appears that there was some hitch in this arrangement, for in February, 1660/1, Pinckney, Firebrace, and Clements sent in a petition to the Lord Steward. They pointed out that in the reign of the late King the Chief Clerk had received a "diett" of 7 dishes, and the two youngest Clerks one of 5, but that instead of the 5 dishes it had been usual to serve to the latter a "chamber mess of 3 dishes betwixt them" and to allow board wages of 8s. 3d. per diem to each. The Officers of the Green Cloth were now unwilling to give either the chamber mess or board wages for the same without the Lord Steward's permission, and they now besought that he should give order that "the Board Wages and Chamber Mess may be allowed them or that they may have their dyetts of 5 dishes or a rateable allow^{ce} for the same." At the next meeting of the Board the board wages of 8s. 3d. and the 3 dishes of meat were granted to the 2nd and 3rd Clerks as from the time they were sworn.

In 1664² Firebrace married for the second time.

¹ *A short account of His Majestie's Coronation.* John Ogilby, 1662. Fugar'd: a variant of "figured," adorned with patterns or designs.—(O.E.D.)

² The date and place of the marriage is not known. He is mentioned with Alice, his wife, in a Close Roll dated

His wife was Alice, daughter of Richard Bagnall of Reading, Co. Berks, and widow of John Bucknall of Crick, Co. Northampton. Her father was also in the Household, having been sworn as a Gentleman Usher Quarter Waiter in September, 1660. They now took up their residence at a convenient distance from Whitehall, for in 1664 he was living in Petty France, a name which has been recently restored in the place of the former one of York Street. But they appear to have had no permanent domicile in London, for in 1665 they were in Ketters Yard, in 1667 at Horseferry, Milbanke, and in 1669 in Wood Street. They also sometimes visited their property at Stoke Golding.¹ Probably Firebrace went there during intervals between his periods of waiting or when he got leave of absence.

He was now able to provide for the future of his two elder sons. Henry was entered at Westminster School, then under the famous Dr. Busby. His name is recorded there as K.S. (King's Scholar) in 1664. He probably went there a year or so before, as a scholarship was not awarded on first admission. He can hardly have escaped a flogging from that redoubtable headmaster, but his career in later life shows that he was a clever lad, and of a serious disposition like his father. In 1668 he was elected to a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was admitted as a pensioner and took his B.A. degree in January 1671/2. In 1673 he applied for a Fellowship, apparently with a letter of recommendation from Lord Arlington. It was not immediately granted, and on the advice of Dr. Isaac

Aug. 13, 1664. It refers to an indenture dated July 18, 1664, made probably on his marriage.

¹ In 1666 Firebrace was assessed for 6 hearths, so he must have been living there in that year.

Barrow the Master of Trinity, his father then applied for a mandate from the King, with the result that the following letter was sent to the Master :

“CHARLES R.

Trusty and welbeloved we greet you well having received ample testimony of ye sobriety and learning of Hen. Firebrace Batchelour of Arts, and Scholar of y^t our Colledge, whereby he might justly promise himself a promotion to a fellowship there and humble suit having been made unto us in his favour y^t considering the disappoyntment he is under in those his hopes by yo^r putting off the election, & the hazard he may runn of being wholly frustrated in that his expectation, without our Royal interposition in his behalf ; we would graciously please to grant him our Royal letters for his admission into A fellowship in y^t our said Colledge. Wee taking the same into Princely consideration and being graciously willing as well to encourage ye said Henry Firebrace in his future studies as to gratify ye Father of ye said Henry being Nearly related to our service, we have thought fitt hereby to signifie our will and pleasure to you and accordingly to command and require you immediately upon y^r receipt of these our lett^{rs} to admitt ye said Henry Firebrace into ye First Fellowship that now is or shall hereafter become vacant in y^t our said Colledge, any Statute Custome or usage to ye contrary in any wise notwithstanding wherein expecting yo^r ready compliyance wee bid you farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall ye 12^t day of October 1673,

by his Maties Command

ARLINGTON.

To Our trusty and well beloved the Master and Senior Fellows of Trin. Coll. in our University of Cambridge.”¹

The Master and Fellows duly obeyed His Majesty's command and elected him a Minor Fellow in May 1674 and a Major Fellow in July 1675, on his taking the degree of M.A. He took clerical orders and received the degree of D.D. in 1688

¹ The original letter is included among the Firebrace letters in the British Museum. *Egerton MSS.* 1788, f. 58.

by Mandate of King James II, dated 17 July 1687. He was Tutor of the College in 1675 and Senior Dean in 1707-8. He died unmarried in 1708.¹

For his second son Basil, Firebrace chose the trade of a vintner. He evidently had an eye to the future, for owing to his close association with the Sergeant of the Wine Cellar there were possibilities that he might later secure for him the provision of wine for the Royal cellar, and the wine trade was a lucrative one. There is no record, in the Books of the Vintners Company that he was apprenticed,² but Firebrace was well acquainted with that Company of which his elder brother John had been a prosperous member. He had died in 1650, but his widow still owned the Goulden Anchor Tavern in the Minories, which she had bought in 1657. She had probably put a tenant in to carry on the business, as in 1667 when she sold it, it was in the occupation of — King. Basil may therefore have been placed there to learn the trade without being regularly apprenticed.

His father's hopes were realized in 1673, when on the resignation of William Batailhe,³ Basil was duly appointed Yeoman Purveyor of French wines for His Majesty's Household, and to receive "the

¹ He appears to have died in London. He was buried at St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, on Nov. 17, 1708.

² He was admitted to the Freedom of the City by redemption in the Company of Vintners in June 1689.

³ William Batailhe was the son of Pepys' friend Joseph Batailhe, or as he calls him Batelier. He and his son and daughter are frequently mentioned in the *Diary* in the years 1665-7, and he was "mightily troubled" at his death in 1667, "he being a good man." The daughter Mary kept a mercer's shop in the Royal Exchange. He calls her "my beauty Mrs. Batelier, who is indeed one of the finest women I ever saw in my life."

Wages, Boardings, Fees, Profits and Emoluments to the same place belonging." In the margin of the Warrant is written "in manibus Henry Firebrace Esq." The wages were £5 and board wages £30 8s. 4d.

This was a good start in life for a young man of one and twenty, and he held the appointment until 1685. The wines to be supplied are enumerated in the annual contracts. Gascoigne, Lybos, Obrion, Hermitage, Champagne, Florac, pale and deep Navarre, Hocomore, Rhincoe and Mosell. The last three appear to be German wines, they are the subject of a separate contract made only once in 1679. Hocomore may stand for Hochheimer, and Rhincoe for Rheingau. Of the others Hermitage and Obrion (Hautbrion) still maintain their reputation. Champagne was not then a sparkling wine.¹ Florac came from a district about five miles east of Bordeaux, which still produces both red and white wine, but Lybos appears to be now unknown.

Another important event in Firebrace's domestic life at this period was the marriage of his daughter Susanna to Thomas Hall Gent. of Elymore Hall Co. Durham. His father Nicholas Hall, also of Elymore Hall, was Rector of Loughborough (1660-69), so she may have met him there while visiting her aunt Rebecca Moseley. The ceremony took place in King Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, on January 6, 1669/70.² Thomas Hall also received an appointment in the Household, but whether it was before or after his marriage is not clear. — Hall, Esq., was appointed a Gentleman

¹ Sparkling champagne was first invented about 1694.

² The entry is incorrectly given in the Abbey Register as Jan. 6, 1669, i.e. 1668/9. The marriage licence was issued Jan. 5, 1669/70.

of the Privy Chamber in Ordinary in 1661, but he may have been identical with Andrew Hall, Esq., who had been appointed a Page in Ordinary in 1660. In 1661 Thomas was only fifteen years of age. The name of Thomas Hall of Ellimore Hall, Co. Durham, first appears in 1672, when he had his certificate as Gentleman of the Privy Chamber renewed. He died in 1680, aged thirty-four. His wife survived him for thirty-five years, dying in 1715 aged seventy-four. Both are buried in their Parish Church of Pitlington. The only issue of the marriage was a daughter Elizabeth, who married Thomas Conyers, Esq., M.P. Firebrace's youngest son George, of whom there is no other record, appears to have gone to live with his sister in Durham, or died there while on a visit, for he was also buried at Pitlington on May 20, 1678.

CHAPTER X

AN HONOURED OLD AGE

EARLY in 1666/7 Leonard Pinckney died and Firebrace succeeded him as Chief Clerk. The King's Warrant is dated February 14. Clements and Jackson were promoted to be 2nd and 3rd Clerks and the post of 4th Clerk was left vacant. There had been some changes in the Board during the past two years. Sir George Barker died in 1664, and Sir William Boreman was promoted to be eldest Clerk Comptroller, his place as youngest Clerk being filled by the appointment of Sir Winston Churchill, the father of the great Duke of Marlborough. Sir Hugh Pollard also died in 1666, and Sir Thomas Clifford was made Comptroller of the Household in his stead.

The position which Firebrace had now attained was one of considerable importance. With the Junior Clerks he took his turn of attendance at the King's dinner and supper as laid down in the Ordinance "from time to time in all places of our abode. As also for our several removes and journeys." But he had also to keep the accounts of his office, and was responsible for the quality of the food supplied. The "diets" for the Royal table and for that of the Household were also specified by Ordinance. For the King's own table twenty-six dishes were to be supplied for dinner and twenty-four for supper. Breakfast was a substantial meal, 12 lb. of beef, 4 joints of mutton and 2 chickens with 8 loaves of bread and 11 Manchetts. On fish

days one jole of ling ¹ with butter, eggs and milk were substituted for the beef and for one of the joints of mutton. The accompanying liquids were 10 gallons of "Beare and Ale" and 3 gallons of Gascoigne wine. Beef, veal, mutton, lamb, and pork, roast, boiled, and baked, were all provided at dinner and supper, together with chickens, turkeys, pigeons, pheasants or partridges, godwits or plovers, larks, quails, and conies. Teal and ruffs are included for supper only. The vegetables were "Hartichokes, Sparagus, Pease, Collyflowers, Roots and sallads." Potatoes have no place in the list. Parkinson (*Paradisi in Sole*, 1629) mentions three varieties as being then known, the Spanish or sweet potato which was imported from Spain, the Virginian, and Potatoes of Canada. The latter was the Jerusalem artichoke. The Virginian potato, though a native of Peru, had been brought from Virginia to Ireland by Sir Walter Raleigh about 1586, but was still little known in England. In 1663 the Royal Society strongly urged their cultivation but it was not till the end of the century that they were introduced into Lancashire from Ireland, and they were not grown as a general crop until about fifty years later. Fish was apparently only eaten on Fish Days, when meat appeared in reduced quantities. Those named are ling, North Sea cod, pike, carp, sole, salmon, lobsters, crabs, whiting, sturgeon, flounder, and eels.

¹ A ling was a much esteemed fish at that time. The jole or jowl was the head and shoulders. Fuller (*Worthies of England*, 1662) describes it as "that noble fish corival in its jowl with the sirloin of beef." Pepys on Jan. 20, 1659/60, went "to the Swan in Fish Street at our Coal Feast where we were very merry at our Jole of Ling," and on Mar. 20, 1667, he "had a good dinner of Ling and Herring pie."

Venison was not included in the ordinary bill of fare, but was specially ordered to be sent up from the New Forest when required. On more than one occasion Firebrace had to complain of the condition in which it arrived, and the Board wrote to the Ranger that "the fat does were not brought into the Larder at the precise time appointed by the Clerk of the Kitchen as required, but when they came almost so far from being fat, were in the next degree of carrion and more proper to feed dogs than to be served at the King's Table." The Ranger was ordered to send the names of the keepers who had failed in their duty and "then we shall send messengers to bring them to condign punishment" for their "disobedience and contempt."

The Royal Table was thus amply supplied with fish, meat, game and vegetables, but it appears to have been lamentably deficient in the matter of sweets. The long list ends in "Tart, 1 dish," which was served at every meal. On Fish Days, however, one dish "of Dowcetts"¹ was also provided. The tarts were on one occasion the subject of a special order of the Board. In June 1681 it was laid down "that the Maids of honor should have Cherry Tarts instead of Gooseberry Tarts It being observed that Cherrys are three pence per pound."

Though the Chief Clerk's duties were heavy there were compensating advantages. He had the right of appointment to places in the kitchen, which he shared with the Master Cook. That this was of some value is shown by a dispute between Firebrace and the Master Cook, Mr. Sayers, which was brought before the Board for their decision. The Cook had appointed a Turnbroach out of his turn

¹ Or Doucets, a sweet dish.—(*O.E.D.*)

and Firebrace lodged a protest. It was decided that the appointment should stand but that the Chief Clerk should appoint to the next two vacancies. It was usual for the nominee to pay a commission to the person who secured him the post, but that of turnbroach could have had little pecuniary value. Firebrace was in this case probably only standing up for his rights.

A more important perquisite was the gratuity paid by Foreign Princes and Ambassadors when entertained at the King's expense. The Chief Clerk had the right to wait upon these occasions, and if a Junior Clerk was detailed by the Board to perform the duty, he paid half the gratuity to him. When the Prince of Orange visited England in 1781, he presented fifty guineas to John Clements the 2nd Clerk, who refused to share it with his chief. Firebrace brought the matter before the Board, who gave judgment in his favour.

His duties, however, were not always so pleasant. In December, 1681, when the panic caused by Titus Oates's so-called disclosures of a popish plot was at its height, we find him with Clements and seventeen others receiving orders to "make strict and diligent search within H.M's Palace at Whitehall and Scotland Yard, Somerset House, St. James's, the Mews and elsewhere within the Verge of the Court. And to take a perfect and exact account of all Papists or reputed Papists that reside within H.M's Court or the aforesaid Houses or within the said Verge" and to deliver "the Account so made in writing" to the Board "that the same may be presented to His M^y in Council."

After holding his appointment as Chief Clerk for seven years Firebrace received an unexpected act of kindness from the King, who by a Warrant dated

March 23, 1673/4, promoted him to the rank of Supernumerary Clerk Comptroller without pay until a vacancy occurred when he was to succeed as a Clerk Comptroller in Ordinary without further warrant, and in the meantime to continue in his present office. This was in consideration of

“his Constant Loyalty and faithfull services to Our Royall ffather of blessed memory (even in the tymes of the late unhappy usurpation and his greatest extremity) together with his diligent and faithfull management of his present Imployment.”

He held this rank until 1680, when he was given a second step of brevet rank. The King's Warrant dated August 23 stated :

“Whereas in consideration of his many and faithfull and acceptable services as well performed to the King Our Father of blessed memory in the time of his troubles and persecutions As alsoe to Ourselfe since Our Most happy restoration And to the End that he may sooner come to the Knowledge and understanding of Our Domestic Affairs and may be enabled the better to discharge the same place when he comes into the position and execution thereof We have thought it fitt and necessary for Our Service imediately to introduce him to Our Board of Greencloth our will and pleasure therefore is and wee doe hereby authorise and require you upon receipt hereof to swear and admitt him the said Henry Firebrace as an Assistant to Our Officers of Our Greencloth and from time to time to sitt at our said Board and to be present at such Debates and consultations as shall happen to be there with full power to Command (in the absence of Our said Officers as Occasion shall require for Our Service) the Officers and Servants below stairs to which we expect they yeild Obedience.”

He was still, however, to continue in the Office of Chief Clerk of the Kitchen.

The Board to which he was now admitted was in 1680 constituted as follows :

James Duke of Ormond	Lord Steward
Francis Viscount Newport	Treasurer
William Lord Maynard	Comptroller
Sir Peter Apsley	Cofferer
H. Bulkeley	Master of the Household
Sir Stephen Fox	Senior Clerk of the Green Cloth
Sir William Boreman	Junior " " " "
Sir Winston Churchill	Senior Clerk Comptroller
Sir Richard Mason	Junior " "

He probably attended regularly but his name is not entered until August 19, 1682, on which date he first signed the record of the Meeting.

Of his private affairs after his daughter's marriage we have very little information. His wife died in 1675 and was buried with her first husband at Crick. On her tomb in the church is the inscription : " Sepeliri ut Resurgas.¹ Mrs. Alice Firebras relict of John Bucknall Esqre, wife of Henery Firebras Esq^{re}, deceased December ye 31st 1675."

In this year also Firebrace, probably at the request of the Lord Steward the Duke of Ormond, drew up in the form of a letter to his secretary, Sir George Lane, the account of his service with King Charles I, which is generally known as Sir Henry Firebrace's *Narrative*.² The letter is dated from Whitehall, July 21, 1675.

Two years later he applied to his old friend Sir William Dugdale, who had recently succeeded Sir Edward Walker as Garter King of Arms, for a confirmation of the arms " which his father had borne." He himself was now commonly addressed as Esquire, and his father in his later life had written " gentleman " after his name, but no grant of arms to any ancestor was known to the Heralds, nor is

¹ " Buried to rise again."

² Many extracts from this *Narrative* are given in Chapters IV to VII. It is printed in full in Appendix A, p. 253.

there any evidence to show that Robert Firebrace had ever used any.

It is possible that the Ferbraz family at Willington had borne some cognizance on their shields when they followed their Lord the Earl of Lancaster to the wars in the fourteenth century, but it is unlikely that any record of it was preserved by the farmers and tradesmen of Derby who were Firebrace's immediate ancestors. Yet in the letters written by him to Sir William Dugdale in 1655¹ he used a seal bearing both arms and a crest, and the arms displayed on it were those which were now confirmed to him : " Azure on a bend or between two roses argent barbed and seeded proper three crescents sable." The crest, however, which on the seal was much defaced, appears to have been a dog's head. The crest now granted was : " on a wreath of the colours an arm embowed proper supporting a portcullis or," with the motto " *Fideli quid obstat.*"² It will be noticed that Firebrace did not put in his application until Dugdale was appointed Garter, and it may be assumed that the coat had been devised by them at Newnham, and was in reality a fresh grant, though, following a custom common at the time, it was stated therein to be a confirmation of ancient arms. The Patent is dated December 1, 1677, and the confirmation and grant were made with limitation to the descendants of the grantee.

In 1685 the long awaited vacancy on the Board occurred through the death of Sir Richard Mason and Firebrace was at last promoted on March 14 to the post of Youngest Clerk Comptroller in Ordinary with all the emoluments attached to that office, by a Warrant of King James II, who had

¹ See p. 201, note 1. ² "What hinders the faithful?"

succeeded to the throne on February 6. It is significant that his Warrants contain none of the gracious expressions of acknowledgment for past services which characterize those of King Charles. We find also a change in the nature of the "emoluments." Up to the death of Charles, the Servants of the Household from the Lord Steward downwards received "wages and board wages," those of the Clerk Comptroller being £88 13s. 4d. and £365 respectively. On the accession of James, the words "wages and board wages" were still mentioned in the Warrants, but in the records of the Board an inclusive "salary" is substituted. The Lord Steward's was fixed at £1,460, the Treasurer's and Comptroller's at £1,200, the Cofferer, Master of the Household, and the four Clerks received £500 each. The number of Servants was also to be reduced. The office of Master of the Household is marked "to determine," as is also that of one Master Cook. Two of the four Clerks of the Kitchen were made supernumerary, as well as a number of lower servants. Among them is found the name of Thomas Firebrasse, Turnbroach. He may have been a distant cousin of Sir Henry, descended from Thomas Firebrace an elder brother of Robert Firebrace of Derby, whose son, also named Thomas, settled at Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

The first duty with which the Board was now concerned was the Coronation of the King and Queen which took place on April 23. Among the letters signed by Firebrace and his colleagues is one addressed to the Rt. Hon. Sir George Jeffreys, the Lord Chief Justice, asking that as "in so great a crowd as is likely to be in Westminster Hall and the Abbey many pocketts are likely to be picked unless there be some means used for the prevention of it

and whereas most of the people who follow that trade are known to the Marshall of the City and his Officers " that His Lordship should issue his warrant for the apprehension of " these persons aforehand for the day."

It was the usual practice to confer a Knighthood on the officers of the Board, and Firebrace received this honour in March, 1685. The date of the Patent is not recorded but he is first mentioned as Sir Henry at the Meeting of April 2. By a Royal Warrant issued on November 20 he was excused paying the usual fees, an exception which was always made in the case of these officers.

With the accession of a Roman Catholic King a problem arose which the Board found some difficulty in solving. The ample diet of fish and meat supplied on Charles's fasting days was anathema to James, who not only kept them very frequently, but also would then only eat " one Meale of Fish and the other Meale to be made up of Dishes that is neither Fish nor Flesh nor anything that comes of Flesh." The Master Cooks, Claud Fourment and Patrick Lambe, were called in to advise on the matter, and with their assistance a contract was made by which for the sum of 24 shillings per diem

" they shall furnish all things belonging to the Potages not exceeding 2 a day (excepting Butcher's Meat and Fowle). Alsoe one small Dish at Dinner and another at Supper at least 2 per diem alsoe six small Dishes every Fasting Night through all the yeare . . . and shall furnish all Jellys, Blamange, Tourt de Moillis,¹ Almon Creame, Barley Creame, Champinions, Pistachoes, Creame, and Tart, Artechoakes, Pease, Asparagus, Beanes, French-beanes, Morells and Troufells, with Milk and Fresh Eggs for the Kitchen and 2 bottles of White Wine per Diem for the use of the Kitchen, in lieu of having them from the Cellar."

¹ Perhaps for Tourte de Melasse, treacle tart.

This contract was renewed annually, and in December, 1686, a somewhat similar one was made with the Queen's Master Cooks Richard Thomas and Phillip Lesserture. For the sum of ten shillings per diem they were to furnish "Garniture for Her Ma'ties Pottages and a Plate of Cookery for each Meale with severall little Dishes at Supper." Then follows a long list of light articles of food, some of which are now quite unknown. "Mingon, Mantells, Gravances, and Ramoile Ver" appear to be French, the latter probably a green vegetable, as it is associated with "Lentile Ver," and "Angelin Verme" (? green angelica). Among the other vegetables is the Spanish or Sweet potato, and "Bambou Canes," now commonly eaten only among the Chinese. Memories of her native land would be revived by Italian Pettipatts (petits pâtés), "Luca Olives," and "Vermishelle." She had a taste also for "Palmesan and other sortes of cheese," and for "pickled cucumbers, Pickled Oysters, and all sortes of Pickles." "Blamange," fritters and raised tarts made up a varied list of sweets. The Ladies of the Court probably enjoyed the change after the plain roast, boiled, and baked meats, and the fruit tarts of King Charles's time.

Sir William Boreman appears to have died in 1686 and Sir Winston Churchill became 2nd Clerk of the Green Cloth, thus leaving a vacancy which was filled by the promotion of Sir Henry to be Chief Clerk Comptroller. The King's Warrant is dated July 12, 1686. John Sparrow succeeded him as Junior Clerk, and John Clements after twenty years' service as 2nd Clerk was promoted to the office of Chief Clerk of the Kitchen.

Further promotion came two years later when on the death of Sir Winston Churchill Firebrace was

appointed 2nd Clerk of the Green Cloth by a Warrant dated April 10, 1688. He held the post during the Revolution, when even such a peaceful body as the Board must have found difficulties in managing the affairs of the Household. King James fled secretly from Whitehall on November 11, returned on the 16th, but left finally on the 17th. The Queen had already gone, and he quitted England for ever on the 23rd. On the 18th William of Orange entered London and took up his residence at St. James's, and on February 3 he and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England.

Firebrace had no mind to serve under new masters. His old chief the Duke of Ormond had died in the previous July and the Earl of Devonshire was to be the new Lord Steward. He had served for twenty-eight years and was now sixty-nine years of age. It was a good opportunity to retire, and he sent in his resignation. It was accepted and a pension of £100 a year was granted him for life. His last attendance at a Meeting of the Board is dated February 4. Since he had been made a regular Member 236 Meetings had been held, and at only 16 is his name wanting on the list of those attending, a remarkable witness both to the excellence of his health, and to his devotion to the duties of his office.

He was now a widower for the third time. In August 1685 he had married Mary, daughter of his old colleague, Richard Dalton, Sergeant of the Wine Cellar, who had died in 1681. She was born at Leatherhead in March, 1649/50, and had married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on November 20, 1670, Lowde Cordell, son of Richard Cordell of Bedford. He was also in the Household, having been appointed a Page of the Bedchamber

to King Charles II in 1672. There were five children of the marriage, Caroline (died 1675), Mary (died 1681), Richard, Anne, and Elizabeth. Lowde Cordell died in March, 1682/3, and his widow was granted a pension of £60 a year by King James II to commence on July 1, 1685. She had also inherited half the residue of her father's personal estate. What this amounted to is not recorded, but at the time of her marriage with Sir Henry she had some means of her own. Their married life lasted less than three years. She died in January, 1687/8, after giving birth to a daughter, Mary, who only survived for a few days. Both were buried in the North Cloister of Westminster Abbey, the mother on February 1, and the infant on February 11.¹ Administration of her effects was granted to her mother-in-law Anne Cordell, who appears to have taken charge of her three children, then aged 13, 8, and 6 respectively. Their mother's pension was continued to them, each receiving £20.

Firebrace still had many things for which to be thankful. He had achieved a good position in life, and had amassed a considerable fortune. His daughter had married well and his two sons had prospered in their respective careers. Though Henry had remained a bachelor, Basil had married in 1671 Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hough of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, "Millaner." He was then only 18 years of age and his wife a year older. Six sons and two daughters had been born to them. Of these the four eldest sons and one daughter had died as infants, but there were still surviving in

¹ An account of the family of Dalton of Leatherhead (1616-1821) is printed in *Notes and Queries* 12 S. XII, pp. 3, 23, 47 (Jan. 1923).

1689, Hester born January 3, 1675/6, Charles born June 5, 1680, and George, born August 29, 1681.¹

At this date Basil was a wealthy man. His appointment as Purveyor to the Household had proved very profitable, and he had added to those profits by means not very reputable. He is said to have made "£14,000 in one year besides what he got in other years when French wines were prohibited, by carrying (the wine) down to Whitehall in a barge with a file of Musqueteers to a cellar of his own that he had provided there, under pretence of carrying it there for the King's own use and spending." He was unfortunately found out, but by "making interest at Court with the Duchess of Cleveland," the King's mistress, he secured a free pardon. The fraud appears to have been committed in 1681, as the pardon is dated November 15 of that year.

He had started his wine business in Mark Lane, but in 1677 was rich enough to take a house in the aristocratic suburb of Richmond, where he remained until 1688, when he appears to have returned to London. He took an active part in City affairs, became a Member of the Court of Common Council and was knighted at Windsor on August 2, 1687, on being elected with Sir John

¹ The particulars of the births of her children were entered by Elizabeth in the flyleaf of a Bible (Cambridge, 1673, 2 Vols.) which was taken by her son Charles to Melford Hall. In the flyleaf of Vol. II were recorded the deaths of other members of the Cordell and Firebrace families. The last entry is that of Sir Cordell Firebrace in March, 1759. Its subsequent history has not been traced, but it was sold by auction in London in June, 1873. The memoranda have been copied in other works. They are here taken from the *Visitation of Suffolk, 1561*, with additions, etc., by Dr. J. J. Howard, 1866.

Parsons to the office of Sheriff. On the 6th he was appointed by Patent of the King, Alderman of the Ward of Billingsgate, and by another Patent dated August 26, one of the Lords Lieutenants for the City of London. In August, 1688, it was ordered by the Court of Aldermen that he be admitted to the freedom of the City by Redemption in the Company of Vintners, and his name so appears in the Alphabet of Freedoms in June, 1689.

Having thus attained a high position in the City, he next aspired to a seat in Parliament. He stood for Chippenham in December, 1690, winning the election by one vote from Sir Humphrey Erwyn, the Lord Mayor, but on the latter's petition it was declared void in December, 1691, and a new writ was issued. Sir Basil was again elected, but was disqualified on the ground of bribery, and his opponent, General the Hon. Thomas Talmash, was awarded the seat. At the next election in 1694 he was defeated by Richard Long and did not stand again.

His retirement was perhaps caused by his appointment in that year to the office of Ranger and Chief Bailiff of the Royal Manor of Enfield Chace, which he held until 1705.¹ He was also much occupied with the affairs of the East India Company during their contest with the New Company which had been formed in 1691. The Old Company applied for a new Charter and his assistance was invoked to procure it. The Charter was granted in October, 1693, but the New Company continued the struggle, and in 1695 rumours spread alleging wholesale corruption by the Directors. The House of Commons took up the matter, and a Committee was appointed to examine the books. It was found

¹ He also became possessed of the neighbouring Manor of Edmonton, but it is not stated how he acquired it.

therein that during the year 1693 the sum of £87,402 12s. 3d. had been paid for special purposes under the direction of the Governor Sir Thomas Cook, M.P., a great part of which they were informed was put into the hands of Sir Basil. Cook, Firebrace and others were examined, and it was proved that the latter had received £10,000 which he kept as a recompense for his labours in procuring the Charter. The Company had further given him an option on £60,000 stock at £150 to be exercised when the Charter was passed. He did so when it had fallen to £100 and thereby made £30,000 profit. It was also clear that he had been paid other sums for purposes of bribery, but no proof was forthcoming except in the case of £8,000 which was handed to Charles Bates and passed on by him to the Duke of Leeds, who accepted it. Sir Basil therefore made £40,000 out of the transactions without counting any further sums which he probably retained as commission on the amount paid to him for distribution. A bill for the imprisonment of Cook, Firebrace, Bates, and James Craggs, who was implicated in these and other corrupt practices, was quickly passed through both Houses, and in May 1696 they were committed to the Tower, from which Sir Basil was not liberated until the following year. He was not, however, compelled to disgorge any of his ill-gotten gains, but by a clause in the Act he was restrained from alienating his estate, with the exception that he might "give his daughter in marriage such portion as he had agreed to give not exceeding £20,000."¹

¹ The marriage of his daughter Hester to Basil, 4th Earl of Denbigh, great-nephew of Sir Henry's old master, was celebrated on June 20, 1695. Her dowry is said to have been the maximum sum allowed, £20,000.

Great wealth, however acquired, has often brought advancement in rank to its possessor, and it so happened in the case of Sir Basil, who in July, 1698, was created a Baronet. In the Patent he is described as "a man regarded for his family, patrimony, good judgment and uprightness of character." As far as the last is concerned he was certainly not so regarded in the City of London, if we may believe the references to him in books and newspapers of the day. He is easily recognized in *The London Spy*¹ under date November, 1699: "Pray, says my Friend, take notice of yonder Tavern at the sign of the Green-Monster; that Tavern, says he, has ruin'd almost as many Vintners as Sir Base'll-fiery-face." Hearne in his Diary (1707) described him as "a noted old Sinner of London," and from his obituary notice in a newspaper we learn that it was his custom to set up young vintners in business and afterwards if they defaulted in their payments to take execution against them.² *

The year 1698 appears to have been the culminating point in his career, from that time his fortunes declined. In 1701 he appeared again as an arbitrator between the Old East India Company and the New. For the substantial consideration of £100,000 of stock at 80 per cent. of its value he offered to produce an agreement between them, but after many sittings of a committee of both sides, his efforts were unsuccessful, and in 1702 the union of the two Companies was effected without him.

How he lost his fortune does not appear, possibly in unsuccessful trading ventures in the East India Company's ships, but in spite of loans of £6,000

¹ By Ned Ward, 1700.

² Parker's *London News*, May 13, 1724.

from the Earl of Portland and £8,000 from his brother Henry, to whom he mortgaged his manor of Edmonton, in 1707 he was declared bankrupt. He is said to have attempted suicide but recovered from the wound, and for the remainder of his life he lived in Westminster discredited in reputation and poor in purse. He made only one more appearance in public life. In June, 1720, he was committed to the Gate House Prison for stabbing Capt. Wilson, a half-pay officer, who had come to his lodgings and demanded money of him. Fortunately the wound did not prove mortal and he was discharged from custody. He died on May 7, 1724, and was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster.¹ Perhaps it was as well that Sir Henry could not foresee the end of his son's career which was so full of promise when he took his well-earned pension in 1789.

On his retirement he went to live at Stoke Golding, the village on the borders of Leicestershire which had been the home of his first wife, and where he now owned considerable property. After thirty years of active work at Court he could not have found a better place in which to pass his last years in peace and quietness. Only one road avail-

¹ His son Charles, a young man of fashion and much encumbered with debt, married in 1710 Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir John Cordell, Bt. of Melford Hall, Suffolk. In the Marriage Licence she gave her age as twenty-eight, but was really thirty-four. She died May 21, 1712, leaving issue one son, Cordell, who succeeded his father as 3rd Baronet in 1727. He married Bridget, daughter of Philip Bacon, Esq., of Ipswich, and widow of Edward Eure, but died without issue on March 28, 1759. The Baronetcy thus became extinct, and the estate passed under Sir Charles's will to the Earl of Denbigh as heir-at-law. This, however, appears to have been set aside, for Lady Firebrace kept possession until her death in 1782, after which it was sold.

able for wheeled traffic led to it from Hinckley, three miles away, which from the entrance to the village diverged to an old track leading to Atherstone on the Watling Street ; even at the present time the "Town Street" remains as it was then, a narrow twisting lane leading north from the "Bull Ring" near the Manor House, from the end of which until recent years only a bridle path gave access to the neighbouring village of Dadlington. It had however from early days possessed a church, which was rebuilt in the fourteenth century, but being only a hamlet of Hinckley, the vicar of that place was the rector and appointed a curate in charge. The parish contained some 1,200 acres, of which about 870 were held in 1604 by Lord Harington as Lord of the Manor. In that year he sold his holding to the tenants, and the Manor House and 100 acres were purchased by Basil Trymnell. The house is said to have been at one time fortified and surrounded by a moat. The moat in parts can still be traced and the adjoining fields still bear the name of the Park, but of the old house nothing remains but some stonework and ancient bricks used in the construction of the present building. In 1627 Basil's son, William Trymnell, owned a large estate, but he embraced the Royalist side, and in 1652 was obliged to sell a large part of it, probably in order to compound for the remainder. Another large house stood in the "Town Street" nearly opposite the church. It was known as the Old Hall, and was, or had been, the property of the family of Brokesby. They appear to have been resident in Stoke for about a hundred years. A Latin inscription to the Memory of Francis Brokesby who died in 1633 bears the names of five sons and four daughters, but in 1689 the only survivor was

Obadiah. All the family bear Bible names showing that they were of Puritan stock, like Sir Henry's relatives the Dowells. These were now all dead with the exception of his sister-in-law Abigail, who had remained unmarried and still lived on the little property she had inherited from her father. Other prominent inhabitants were Nathaniel Wyatt, who married William Trymnell's daughter, and Thomas Davill,¹ whose father had married as his second wife a sister of Obadiah Brokesby. The curate in charge was Samuel Parr, B.A., who later also married a member of the Brokesby family.

They were thus a self-centred little community, very much intermarried, far removed from any large town, and occupied solely with agriculture and local affairs. Sir Henry would be well known to them all, for he had visited Stoke from time to time during the past forty years, and they had no doubt watched his career with interest. Though originally a stranger, they had adopted him as one of themselves, and were proud that he had now come to spend his last years among them.

He was now also a considerable landowner in the district. In addition to his first wife's inheritance of a farmhouse and 27 acres of land, he had made further purchases from time to time. In 1677 he bought a house, 2 gardens, and 96 acres which had formerly belonged to the Trymnell estate, and in 1686 $\frac{1}{2}$ a messuage, barn, stable, garden, orchard and 50 acres. The whole property thus amounted to some 180 acres. Very few of the old field names have survived, but from such as remain and from

¹ He was not related to the Dowell Family, though the names are often confused in the printed Firebrace pedigrees. In some of them Henry Firebrace is said to have married a daughter of Thomas Davill.

contemporary sources the situation of it can be approximately identified. About 145 acres lay to the east of the Town Street on or near the north and east boundaries of the parish. The names of Bean Hill which formed part of the Dowell property, Rylands adjoining it to the east and Oulden (now Holden) on the eastern boundary, are found on the Tithe Map of 1845. Hoopewells, which was part of the Trymnell estate, lay on the extreme north-east corner, but is no longer known by that name. The remainder of Sir Henry's land, also part of the same estate, then and still called Nether End, abutted on the main road to the west, and lay a little to the south of the Manor House.

He also was possessed of property outside the parish. In 1664 he is said to have held some land in the adjoining hamlet of Wykin, and in 1677 he bought for £900 a house and 290 acres in Sutton Cheney, some 3 miles away.

On the other hand he appears to have sold a messuage, garden, and orchard, and 65 acres in 1664 at the time of his marriage with Alice Bucknall, but how he became possessed of it does not appear. He is said to have owned some more land on the Trymnell estate which he possibly bought from him in 1652, and it was perhaps that which he sold in 1664.

It is more difficult to determine in what house he resided during the last two years of his life. The house which he inherited from George Dowell and the "messuages" on the land he had bought were mere one-storied cottages, and we have evidence that his house was a large one of two stories. After the death of his son Henry in 1708 an inventory ¹

¹ It was taken to Melford Hall by his nephew and executor, Charles Firebrace, and is now in the archives there.

was made of his property in Stoke, and in it is a description of the rooms in the house in which he lived and which was undoubtedly the one he had inherited from his father. On the ground floor was a "Hall, Best Chamber, Dining room or Great Parlor, Fore Parlor or Clock Parlor, Little Parlor, Study and Passage room," and above these, "Chamber over the Clock Parlor, Little Chamber over passage, Chamber over the little parlor, Garret over the Great Parlor, Little Garret, other Garret, and Store Room." There were also "Servants Hall, Kitchen, Scullery, Cellar, Brewhouse, Bakehouse and Stable."

In the opinion of those who have made a study of the history of the village the only two houses which might have fitted this description were Trymnell's Manor House and the Old Hall. The first can be ruled out, for Trymnell in his will dated 1693, mentioned "the Manor House wherein I dwell." There remains therefore only the Old Hall, and it is there that according to local tradition Sir Henry lived. There is no doubt that his house in Stoke was his own property, for in his will he "gave and bequeathed" it to his son, Henry, but no record has been found that he bought it from Obadiah Brokesby. The latter died in 1696 and in his will, by which he bequeathed to his son "Francis Brokesby, Clerk" all his houses and lands in Stoke Golding, he mentions a "feather bed and other furniture . . . which are standing in the Chamber over the Hall." He therefore owned a two-storied house, though the description in the will does not quite tally with those in the Inventory, where no chamber is mentioned as being over the Hall. In 1669 he and his son Francis sold to "Thos. Cracroft gent. and Nathaniel Brokesby,

gent. a messuage, two cottages and 180 acres for £160," and this might have been the Old Hall, which Sir Henry may later have bought from them. The house itself was demolished in or about 1866, and the school now stands on the site. There only remain on one side the old garden wall, and on the other two old cottages which formerly belonged to the Hall, and which might be the two cottages mentioned in the Feet of Fines of 1669. On an examination of the site it appeared that the description given in the Inventory would apply very well, for the ground slopes back from the road, and the kitchen and other offices could have been built as a basement below the road but on a level with the garden behind. We must therefore conclude that tradition for once is right, and that the Old Hall was at some time bought by Sir Henry, and that it was there that he spent the last two years of his life. His name does not appear in any of the village records for 1689 and 1690, but there was one institution in which he must have taken a great interest. This was the Free Grammar School, which had been founded in 1678 by "Mistress Hester Hodges, Spinster." In his will he describes her as his "worthy aunt," she must therefore have been a sister of Elizabeth Firebrace's mother.¹ In

¹ Sir Henry must have known her at the time he was courting Elizabeth, for she was then a member of the household of Susan, Countess of Denbigh. In March, 1643/4, her name is found in the *House of Lords Journals* as having been sent from Oxford to London to procure childbed linen for the Queen previous to the birth of Princess Henrietta, later Duchess of Orleans, who was born at Exeter in the following June. She accompanied the Queen and Lady Denbigh to France and appears to have remained with her until the latter's death in 1652. After the Restoration she was given apartments in Somerset House. The date of her death is not recorded, and no will has been found.

that year by an indenture dated September 12 made with Sir John Whatton Kt., William Wollaston Esq., Henry Firebrace the Elder Esq., Henry Firebrace, Basil Firebrace, William and Basil Trymnell, Obadiah and Nathaniel Brokesby, Thomas Davill, John Oneby, and others, she put into the hands of William Trymnell, Obadiah Brokesby and Thomas Davill the sum of £500 "to buy land to form a Free Grammar School and maintenance of a Schoolmaster in Holy Orders for it." To this sum Davill added £100 and other contributions were made including £5 from Sir Henry given in 1680. A farm of 115 acres was bought from John Oneby in the village of Earls Shilton for the sum of £100, and a house in the village was purchased from Obadiah Brokesby. In 1683 by a second deed it was expressly provided that the education should be "in the principles of the Church of England and of obedience to the Government," and that the "power of collating the School Master should be in Henry Firebrace Esq^{re} and his two sons Henry and Basil and their descendants for ever whilst any of them should be in being of the loyalty of which family the foundress was well assured." This condition was continued by successive deeds until after 1772, but the administration is now regulated by Governors appointed under a scheme of the Charity Commissioners made in 1895. The school has been moved to a building erected on the site of the Old Hall, and is now the Public Elementary School of the village. The endowment still consists of the old house and the farm at Earls Shilton which are vested in the official Trustees of Charity Lands.

In 1689 a donation of Communion plate was made to the Church by Sir Henry and his two sons,

which has been carefully preserved and is still in use. It comprises a silver chalice, a large and small paten, and a flagon, all dated 1688. On the bowl of the chalice is inscribed "Hunc calicem cum operculo Henricus Firebrace Miles in usum ecclesiae de Stoke Golding in agro Leicester D.D. Anno Domini 1689." The large paten is inscribed "Ecclesiae de Stoke Golding H.F. Anno Do. 1689." The flagon bears the inscription: "Hanc lagenam una cum patina Basilius Firebrace Miles in usum ecclesiae de Stoke Golding in agro Leicester D.D. Anno Do. 1689."

Captain William Trymnell had for some years been buying back the portions of his estate which he had been obliged to sell in 1652. In October, 1690, he purchased from Sir Henry for £160 the farm of Hoopewells and the Nether End, in all 86 acres.

This is the last record in which Sir Henry's name occurs. On January 27, 1690/1, he died, and was buried in the chancel of St. Margaret's Church on February 3. Near his grave on the north side his sons erected a marble memorial¹ bearing the following inscription:

Hic juxta situs est
Henricus Firebrace Miles
Vir ortu vitâque splendidus,
Pervetustâ a Normannis usque familiâ,
Fide ad posteros memorabili;
Quam Carolo 1^o per res suas difficillimas,
Non gratam magis quam utilem præstitit,
Cum a cubiculo Regis sub custodiâ habiti nusquam discederit;
Nisi ad procuranda ipsi negotia, quæ varia
Domi forisque tam publica quam privata
Capitis cum discrimine expedit;

¹ During a restoration of the church in or soon after 1882 it was removed to the east end of the south aisle, and is now placed on the wall separating it from the chancel.

Studioque in eum tam constanti quam fortuna odio,
 Ad extremum malorum et vitæ terminum perduravit.
 Prævalentibus deinde Rebellium armis et constitutâ Tyran-
 nide,

Ruri se continuit fere in hoc viculo,
 Donec Deo Communibus omnium votis favente
 Desideratissimus rediret in patriam Carolus :
 Tum in hospitio Regis munera obivit

Sine periculo honorifica
 Ubi domesticus rebus administrandis præfuit,
 Inter principales de Tapete Viridi (ut vocant) Officiarios,
 Faciliori jam Fortunâ usus, pari diligentîâ triginta prope
 annos vixit in Curia :

Innocentissimis moribus suâque integritate,
 Carolo et Jacobo augustis fratribus semper carus,
 Quorum altero naturæ cedente, Fortunâ altero
 Amissâ tum demum Aulâ ut servaret Fidem,

Cum in hunc notum sibi recessum
 et antiquum perfugium revenisset,
 Non ita diu post vitam cum morte commutavit
 Die 27 Januarii, 1690, anno ætatis suæ 72°.

It has been translated as follows :

Near here is buried Henry Firebrace, Knight, a man distinguished by birth and life, of very ancient family even from the Normans ; of a faithfulness to be remembered by posterity ; which not more acceptable than useful he showed to Charles I throughout his most difficult affairs, in that he departed no whither from the Chamber of the King who was put under his charge, except to attend for him to those various matters which, at home and abroad, as well public as private, he transacted with discernment of mind ; and with as constant zeal towards him as contempt of fortune he endured to the extreme end of (the King's) calamities and life. The arms of the rebels prevailing and a tyranny having been set up, he remained in the country near this village, until, God favouring the common prayers of all men, the much desired Charles

returned to his country : Then in the Royal Household he discharged offices that were honourable without danger, where he excelled in the administration of domestic affairs among the Chief Officers of the Green Cloth (as they are called). Having now used his easier fortune with equal diligence he lived nearly thirty years at Court ; for his integrity and most pure morals he was ever dear to the august brothers Charles and James, of whom the one yielding to nature and the other to fortune, he then at last forsook the Court that he might keep his fealty. When he had returned to this to him well known retreat and ancient refuge he not long after died on the 27th of January, 1690 (1690/1), in the seventy-second year of his age.

Sir Henry made his will in 1680 :

In the name of God Amen I Henry ffirebrace of Whitehall in the Parish of St. Martin in the Feilds in the County of Midd^x Esq^{re} Chief Clerke of the Kitchin to his Majestye being in health and of perfect mind and memory thanks be to Almighty God But considering the frailty and uncertainty of this Life and the certainty of Death do make and declare this my last Will and Testament in manner and form following (that is to say)

First and principally I humbly recommend my Soul to God who gave it hoping and assuredly believing through the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour to obtain remission of my sins and eternal salvation

My body I bequeath to the Earth from whence it came to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named and as concerning such Worldly Goods as God in his Bounty hath been pleased to bestow upon me I dispose as followeth :

Imprimis I give and bequeath my house at Stoke Golding in the County of Leicester with my moveables therein or thereto belonging and all other my houses and tenements and all my lands of Inheritance of what nature or quality so ever in Stoke Golding and in Sutton Cheaney in the said County of Leicester or elsewhere unto my son and heir Henry

ffirebrace and the heirs male of his body lawfully to be begotten And for want of such heirs I give and bequeath the same houses lands and premises unto my son Bazill ffirebrace and the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten And for want of such issue to the Right heirs of me the said Henry ffirebrace for ever

Item I give and bequeath unto my said son Henry ffirebrace the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds which I have lent to John Everard of Dadlington in the said County of Leicester on a Mortgage of lands there together with all interest thereupon due and the benefit of the said Mortgage

Item I give and bequeath unto my daughter Susanna Hall widow the sum of one hundred pounds together with the like sum of one hundred pounds more which I lately lent her and to her daughter Elizabeth Hall the like sum of one hundred pounds

Item I give and bequeath unto Charles ffirebrace the son and to Hester ffirebrace the daughter of my said son Basill each of them the sum of one hundred pounds And my Will is that if either of them two die before they be of lawful age the survivor to have the whole two hundred pounds and that the last mentioned three several sums of one hundred pounds be by my Executors put out to Interest upon good security or securities or some other good and secure way disposed within three months after my death for the benefit of my said Grandchildren

Item I give and bequeath to my cozen Elizabeth Lewis Widow the sum of Twenty pounds

Item I give and bequeath to my Sister ffirebrace of Ratcliffe and to her two daughters my neeces each of them five pounds to buy them mourning

Item I give to each of my servants who serve me at the time of my death forty shillings

Item I give and bequeath the rest of my goods and personal Estate of what nature or quality soever my debts if any and my funeral expenses being discharged unto and between my said two Sons Henry and Basill to be equally divided between them two parte and parte alike And I do hereby make and ordain my said two sons Henry and Basill my joint Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby revoke and make void all former Wills by me made and do declare this to be my last Will and Testament

Item I give unto my most worthy Aunt Mrs. Hester Hodges the sum of Twenty pounds to buy her a ring

In witness whereof I the said Henry ffirebrace the Elder have hereunto set my hand and seal fifteenth day of December Anno Dom̃ one thousand Six hundred and Eighty Annoque R.Rs Caroli Secundi Tricesimo secundo

H. ffirebrace

I did obliterate the four lines above

H. ffirebrace

Item I give and bequeath unto my Sister Abigail Dowell which I had forgotten in the body of this my Will the sum of Twenty pounds which my Will is to be duly paid as the rest of my legacies

Witness my hand this sixth day of January one thousand Six hundred Eighty

H. FIREBRACE

Signed sealed published and declared by me the said Henry ffirebrace the Elder as my last Will and Testament in the presence of

ELIZ : LEWIS—DOROTHY BRADY her mark—THO. VIVIAN—JOHN SHAW—NATHANIEL GAWTHORNE

Of the legatees mentioned the only one who cannot be identified is Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis, described as "my cousin." She was not a member of the Firebrace or Dowell families, but may have been a relation of his second wife, Alice. As she was a witness of the will, she appears to have been a member of his household, possibly she managed it after the death of his wife. The will was probably made in London and the other witnesses were his servants. "My Sister ffirebrace of Ratcliffe" was Sarah widow of his elder brother John Firebrace, Citizen and Vintner. Her two daughters were Sarah wife of John Atherton, Master Mariner, and Anne, who never married. Her son John had emigrated to the West Indies and was now settled in Barbados.¹

¹ See p. 10.

The will was proved in London by Dr. Henry and Sir Basil Firebrace on April 7, 1691.

Henry Firebrace entered into possession of the property and resided there and at Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1706 he and Sir Basil sold the farm at Sutton Cheney, but Henry continued to hold the remainder until his death in 1708. There is no record as to how it passed out of the family, but it was probably sold by his nephew and heir Charles Firebrace, perhaps to pay his debts.¹

Of Sir Henry's outward appearance we have no knowledge, for no portrait of him has been found, nor is there any description of him in any contemporary document. Pepys may have met him after the Restoration, for he was intimate with his colleague Pinckney, but he makes no mention of him, and he was certainly not of the convivial spirit which appealed to Pepys. In his early life he had come under Puritan influences, and the better qualities of Puritanism remained with him during his life. He was naturally serious and reserved, cautious in deliberation, but resolute and persevering when he had determined on his course of action. His character is faithfully portrayed in the inscription on his monument, which was probably written by his elder son.

In an age when few were incorruptible his integrity was conspicuous, and he had the power of inspiring confidence in all with whom he came in contact. Denbigh trusted him in all his private affairs, in all his dangers and difficulties Charles I never lost faith in him, and while the Royalists often

¹ At the time of his marriage with Margaret Cordell, he owned the Manor of Edmonton and property in Cambridgeshire, but there is no mention in the archives at Melford Hall that he then had any at Stoke Golding.

distrusted one another, they never had a doubt about "honest Harry." In the modest Narrative of his services he took no credit to himself, and imputed no blame to others when his well-laid plans came to naught. Obstacles were but things to be overcome, and failure served but as an incentive to try again. Denbigh bore witness to his personal bravery during his campaign in 1643-5, and it was again apparent when at Newport he offered to guide the King to safety at the risk of his life. Whether he served Denbigh or the King, his only thought was of his duty to his employer, and to both he gave of his best. In the happier times after the Restoration the same devotion to the duties of his office gained him the continued regard of the two Kings under whom he served and of his superiors on the Board of Green Cloth, and his promotion was the reward of good work faithfully executed. The encomium passed by Evelyn on Sir Stephen Fox might well have been applied to him, for we may well believe that he too was "humble and ready to do a courtesie, generous and lived honourably, of a sweet nature, well spoken, well bred and highly in his Majesty's esteem." Respected in life, he died regretted. He made but a small mark in History, but in the village where he was laid to rest his memory is still preserved as an honourable English gentleman who throughout lived up to the proud motto awarded to him by his old friend Sir William Dugdale, "Fideli quid obstat?"

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APPENDIX A

SIR HENRY FIREBRACE'S NARRATIVE

THIS account of Firebrace's services to King Charles during the last two years of his life was first written apparently at the request of the Duke of Ormond or of his secretary Sir George Lane, and is contained in a letter to Lane dated at Whitehall 21 July, 1675. The original manuscript is not now forthcoming, but some years later Sir William Dugdale, Garter King at Arms, conceived the idea of collecting from the actors therein their experiences during that period. Being an old friend of Firebrace's, he had heard the story from his own lips, but he now wished for a record in writing. He accordingly sent him the following letter ¹ :

For my much esteemed freind
Mr Henry Firebrace, his
Maties Clerke of the
Kitchen at his
Lodgings in
Windsor Castle

S^r Having lately obtain'd from Colonell Cooke (now deceased)² a Narrative of divers remarkable passages relating to K. Charles the first, upon his being taken from the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle ; Having also formerly had from Major Huntington a Narrative of what was most remarkable concerning that blessed Martyr, from the time of his being taken from Holmby, to his escape from Hampton Court : I shall take it for a great favour from you, to affoord me a few lines touching that designed getting away of his, from the Isle of Wight, by a window ; w^{ch} did not succeed (as you have told me) the place being too narrow for his body, though it was wide enough for

¹ Firebrace Letters, No. 51, *B.M. Egerton MSS.*, f. 59.

² He died on January 29, 1683/4.

appended to Dugdale's copy of the *Narrative*, and no doubt gave him the information about the soldier in the white night cap, who is mentioned in the King's letter of April 23 (No. 12). Unfortunately Dugdale did not commit it to paper, and we are left in ignorance as to his name.

The only existing Manuscripts of the *Narrative* are one in the British Museum, *Harl. MSS.* 4705, in the handwriting of Sir William Dugdale, and one in the Bodleian Library, *Ashmole* 1141, Art. III (f. 8B) in the handwriting of his son, John. It appeared in print in 1702 and 1711 in a book containing also the *Memoirs* of Sir Thomas Herbert, the *Narratives* of Col. Cooke and Major Huntington, and *The Character of that Blessed Martyr* by the Reverend Mr. John Diodati, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and the author of the *Princely Pelican*, to which was added *The Death-Bed Repentance of Mr. Lenthal, Speaker of the Long Parliament*.

It has been reprinted in *Memorials of the Martyr King*, by Mr. Allan Fea (1905), and in *Charles I in Captivity*, by Miss G. S. Stevenson (1928).

The following is an exact copy of the Manuscript in the British Museum :

The Copie of a Letter to S^r George Lane, Knt. Secretary to the Duke of Ormond written by Mr. Henry Firebrace, Clerke of ye Kitchin to his Mat^{tie} K. Charles the second ; containing a Narrative of certain particulars, relating to his late Mat^{tie} King Charles the first, during the time that he attended on his Mat^{tie} at Newport in the Isle of Wight, a^o 1648, w^{ch} letter beares date at White Hall 21 July 1675.

S^r

your pressing me to give you an Accompt of the part I acted, while I was permitted to attend the late King (that glorious Martyr) in the times of his sufferings, I know not how to deny, nor how to performe, wanting abilities to expresse (in such a manner as I might) what was done, and what my Eyes and yeares were acquainted wth, But since you please to comānd, I will obey ; giving you the Relation, so farr as I was concerned, and my capacity, and memory will extend.

I had the honour to be known to his Mat^{tie} by severall services I had done him, in the time of the Treaty at Uxbridg, at Oxford, and other places : And being at New-castle, when the Scotts deliverd his Mat^{tie} to the English ; I did (by his directions, to the end I might serve him with greater freedome, and lesse suspition of those, who had him in custody) make my application to some of the Com^{missioners}, that I might be admitted to attend his Mat^{tie} as one of the Pages of his Bed-chamber ; in w^{ch} I prevailed.

They presently convey his Mat^{tie} to Holmby, where they kept him under a Guard, but very few servants to attend him, especially of such as he could trust, w^{ch} rendred my Services the more usefull to his Mat^{tie}.

In this interim, the two great factions of that time, presbyterian, and Independent, differ, The later prevaile, and remove his Mat^{tie} to Hampton-Court, upon pretence of restoring him to his Throne : but having gayned their prey, the King, soon after discovers their falshood, and yt they intended nothing lesse, than what they pretended ; looks upon his life in danger : To preserve which, he put himself upon that journey, when he left Hampton-Court privately, in a darke and raynie night, about the middle of November, and was unfortunately brought to the Isle of Wight : whither I am confident (by what his Mat^{tie} severall times after, sayd to me) he did not intend to go : but what fate brought him thither, I could never learne.

So soon as it was publiquesly known, where his Mat^{tie} was, having received a private Letter from him, to hasten to him, and wth what Intelligence I could get : after I had acquainted his most faithfull freinds about London wth my going, as his Mat^{tie} had com^{manded} me ; I got leave of the Speaker of the House of Com^{mons}, and his passe to go (for I had still kept myself out of their suspition) my first endeavours after my arrivall, was, how to give his Mat^{tie} an Accompt of buisnesse ; and to put into his Hands safely those Letters I had for him (for there were continually Spyes upon him.) To w^{ch} purpose I found out a very convenient and private place, in his Bedchamber, where I left papers of w^{ch} I have him an accompt that night, by putting a Note into his Hand, as he was preparing to go to Bed : w^{ch} paper he found.

And though¹ next morning, after his retirement att his private Devotions (of w^{ch} he never fayled) I found his paper in the same place ; by w^{ch} his Mat^{tie} was pleased to expresse his satisfaction in what I had done, and what he had received ; and directed the continuance of that place and way for converse, w^{ch} we made use of (for we had no better) for many weeks ; I had settled a very good way of correspondence wth his Mat^{ties} freinds at London, having two men, very faythfull, and unsuspected, constantly going & coming ; by w^{ch} meanes his Mat^{tie} never wanted good Yntelligence from the Queen, the prince, and many of his freinds, even in the time, when those cursed votes of no more Addresses took place : for I gave him severall dispatches every weeke, and conveyed his safely away ; not one, at any time miscarrying ; w^{ch} was an infinite blessing of God on my endeavours.

At length I found favour in the Eyes of those appointed by Colonell Hamond to be Conservators ; whose office it was, by turnes, to wayt at the King's two Dore of his Bedchamber by Day, when his Mat^{tie} was there ; and to lodge there by Night, their Beds being layd close to the Dore ; so that they could not open untill the Beds were removed.

The King constantly went into his Bedchamber so soon as he had supped, shutting the Dore to him. I offred my Service to one of these Conservators to wait at the Dore opening into the Backstayres whilst he went to Supper, I pretending not to Sup ; which he accepted of : by which meanes I had freedome of Speaking wth his Mat^{tie}, none being on that side but my self : wth which his Mat^{tie} was very well pleased ; directing me to get that liberty so often as I could ; w^{ch} I procured very frequently.

Then, lest we might be surprized by any one, too suddainly rushing into the Bed-chamber, and so discover the Bedchamber-dore open (for so it was, that we might heare each other the better) I made a slit or chink through the wall, behind the Hanging ; w^{ch} served as well as the opening of the Dore, and was more safe : for, upon the least noyse, by letting fall the Hanging, all was well. By this meanes, we had oportunity to discourse often ; and amongst other things of severall ways

¹ In the *Bodleian MS.* " the."

for his Matie's Escape (for his imprisonment was then intolerable).

Amongst other ways, I proposed his coming out of his Bed-Chamber window ; w^{ch} he sayd he could do, there being room enough.

I told him I feared it was too narrow. He sayd he had tryed wth his Head ; and he was sure, where that would passe, the Body would follow. yet still I doubted, and proposed a way to make it a little wyder, by cutting the plate the Casement shut to at the bottome : w^{ch} then might have been easily put by.

He objected, that might make a discovery ; and comāded me to prepare all things else ; and that, he was confident would not impede him.

I had made for this Escape M^r Worsley (now S^r Edward Worsley) a very worthy Gentleman, now living in the Island, M^r Richard Osburne, a Gentleman put in by the Parliament to attend the King, and M^r John Newland of Newport ; who all proved very faythfull ; and thus we were to proceed : I shouldosse something against the window, w^{ch} was the signe to put himself out ; and to let himself down by a Cord, w^{ch} I, for that purpose had given him.

Being down, and in the Night dark, I was to conduct him crosse the Court (no Centinell being in the way) to the great wall of the Castle ; where I was to have let him down by a long Cord ; a Stick being fastned crosse at the end for him to sitt on.

Beyond this wall was the Counterscarp, w^{ch} was low. Beyond thatt, and quite out of the Castle, wayted M^r Worsley, and M^r Osburne, on Horsback, wth a good Horse, Saddle, and Pistolls, Boots &c for the King. They were to help his Matie from the Counterscarpe ; w^{ch} they could easily do from their Horses.

At the Seaside, in a convenient place, was M^r John Newland, wth a lusty Boat, w^{ch} might have carryed his Matie to what port he had thought fitt. All things were thus prepared, and every one well instructed in his part. The King, as he walked, had been often shew'd the place by me, where he was to be let down, and where he was to get over the Counterscarpe ; w^{ch} his Matie well approved of.

In the middle of these hopes, I gave the Signe, at the

appointed time. His Ma^{tie} put himself forward ; but then, too late, found himself mistaken ; he sticking fast between his Breast and Shoulders, and not able to get forwards or backwards : but that, at the instant, before he endeavoured to come out, he mistrusted, and tyed a peice of his Cord to a Barr of the window within : By meanes whereof he forced himself back.

Whilst he stuck, I heard him groane, but could not come to help him ; w^{ch} (you may imagine) was no small affliction to me. So soon as he was in again, to let me see (as I had to my greif heard) the Designe was broken, he set a Candle in the window. If this unfortunate impediment had not hapned, his Ma^{tie} had then, most certainly, made a good Escape.

Now I was in payne, how to give notice to those wthout, w^{ch} I could finde no better way to do, than by flinging Stones from the high wall, where I should have let down the King, to the place where they stayed ; w^{ch} proved effectuall ; so that they went off, and never any discovery was made of this.

After this, I sent for Files and Aqua fortis from London, to make the passage more easy, and to helpe in other designes I proposed : But, before we could effect them, a Letter came from Derby-House to Hamond, to direct him to have a carefull Eye on those about the King : for that they discovered there were some that gave him Intelligence.

This was a generall suspition, but they could point at Nobody, Hamond set his Engines to worke, and did pumpe me. So I heard he did others : But, at last, he toke me into examination ; and when he could make no discovery ; he told me the reason.

I acquainted the King wth all passages ; at w^{ch} he was much troubled ; and told me, if they had a suspition of me, they would not leave till they had ruined me ; and would have had me gone wth his Letters to the prince (his son, now our Sovereign Lord and Master :) But I told his Ma^{tie} I was confident they could prove nothing against me ; and therefore beg'd I might stay to see the Issue ; and that, if the worst hapned, they could but put me away : and then, I did not doubt but I should be able, some way or other, to serve his Ma^{tie}

After this Hamond sent for me again ; and told me he

had received other Letters, and that he must dismisse me, as he should do others ; but that I might stay, if I would, three or four days.

This I looked upon as a Trap : However I accepted of it ; but carryed my selfe cautiously. I acquainted the King, & settled such a way of correspondence, that his Mat^{tie} did not want constant Intelligence from his friends, as before ; and had his Dispatches brought carefully to me ; and sent them away wth the like good successe as formerly, during the whole time I was from him.

In my absence another attempt was made for his Mat^{ties} Escape, by those I had engaged ; but it was unhappily discovered in the execution. Mr. Worsley, and M^r Osburne, (who wayted wthout, as before) fled, by the help of that Boat that was to have carryed away his Mat^{tie} and came to me to London ; where I obscured and preserved them.

When the Treaty was voted ; amongst those his Mat^{tie} named to attend him, I had the honour to be one ; of which he was pleased to give me notice, by a Letter, and comāded me to make hast to him. I no sooner arrived, than his Mat^{tie} told me I should attend him, as I did before ; which was Page of the Bed-chamber, and Clerk of the Kitchin ; for that there must be severall Dyets at the Treaty ; and he would have me undertake it, in order to something better he intended for me.

I desired to be excused, as not at all understanding the imployment. He was pleased to tell me, he would instruct me (w^{ch}, in earnest, he did.) Wthin two or three days I heard that a Gentleman, one of his Mat^{ties} Clerks of the Kitchin, was come to Newport, in expectation to wayt in his imployment, and then I desired his Mat^{tie}, that he might wayt accordingly, I being unskilfull. He was pleased to tell me again I should undertake it, and that that Gentleman should wayt as Clerke-Comptroller, as accordingly we did.

The Treaty being begun at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, we did all hope for a happy conclusion thereof ; His Mat^{tie} having granted whatever they could aske, saving his Conscience, and the damnation of his owne Soule (w^{ch} his Mat^{tie} once told me, he thought they aymed at :) But our hopes were all blasted ; when the Army, thirsting for his bloud, sent a party into the Island to

secure him : w^{ch} was so suddainly, and privately done, that there was no notice, or appearance of them, untill that night they began their horrid Tragedye ; being the 29th of November 1648.

The King had comānded me to attend him that night at Eight of the clock, for a pacquet he was preparing for me to send to the Queen : But before that houre, I perceived some Souldiers wth pistolls in their hands, busily prying about the House where the King was lodged. This together with the News of a party newly arrived, put me into great apprehensions of the King's danger : And therefore, not staying till the time his Ma^{tie} appointed me, I knocked at the Bedchamber dore (w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} had comānded me to do, at any time when I had businesse wth him : And by such a knock, w^{ch} he knew, and directed me to use, he presently opened me the Dore ; and seeing me appeare in a great astonishment, asked me what is the matter.

I answered, God almighty preserve your Ma^{tie} ; for I much feare some dismall attempt upon your person : and told him what I had seen and heard. He was pleased to lay his Hand upon mine, and use these or the like words ;

Firebrace, be not thus affrighted, things will be well ; you know Hamōnd is this day gone for London ; and he hath appointed three Deputies in his absence : these will be trebly diligent, and it may be will set a treble Guard upon me : but I am assured there will be no danger.

I replied, Ah S^r I much feare you are deceived ; for God's sake yet think of your safety ; There is yet a Dore of hope open. The night is dark, and I can now safely bring you into the street, and thence conduct you to your old freind, M^r John Newland, who hath a good Boat always ready, and a good heart to serve you. Comit your self to the mercye of the Seas, where God will preserve you ; and trust not your self in the hands of those mercillesse villaines, who I feare this night will murder you : w^{ch}, indeed I feared ; and therefore was transported in my passionate expressions, w^{ch} his Ma^{tie} notwithstanding, tooke very well, and used expressions of great kindnesse to me ; w^{ch} I beg'd he would forbear, and yet think of his safety.

He told me he did not feare : and that, if he did think there was any danger, he should be cautious of going ;

in regard of his word (w^{ch} I supposed he had passed to Hamond, not to stirr.) Then he bid me stay, and he would seale up his Letters, w^{ch} he had just finished, and give me that Dispatch to send away ; which accordingly he did : and I, wth a sorrowfull heart left him.

I had not been long gone, before he found the beginning of the sad effects of my feares : For those villaines came downe and set Guards in all places, wthin, and without the House ; even in his Bedchamber. In w^{ch} posture they continued till break of the Day. A little before w^{ch} time (for with difficulty I had gotten leave of those Bloud-hounds, to come into the Bedchamber, as being a Page thereof, as well as Clerk of the Kitchin :) the King sayd to me, I know not where these people intend to carry me ; and I would willing eat before I go : therefore get me something to eat ; w^{ch} I caused the Cookes immediately to do. And, coming my self, in half an houre, to tell him it was ready ; I met those wretches leading him downe the Stayres, to hurry him away ; not suffring him to break his fast.

I kneeled down, and kissed his Hand : at w^{ch} he stopped to give me leave so to do : when they thrust him ; saying Go on Sr. And so thrust him up into his Coach, w^{ch} was set close to the Dore.

And then one Rolfe, who had before attempted to murder him ; impudently (wth his Hat on) stept up into the Coach to him : But his Mat^{tie} with great courage rose up, and thrust him out ; saying It is not come to that yet ; Get you out ; and called up M^r Herbert, and M^r Harington (two, who at that time wayted as Groomes of his Bedchamber.)

Rolfe thus disappointed, tooke his Saddle Horse, w^{ch} was there ready for his Mat^{tie}, and got upon him : and so using insulting words, rode by the Coachside ; in w^{ch} they carryed him to Yarmouth in the Island ; and from thence, by water to Hurst-Castle : and from thence to his Martyrdome ; the History whereof is left to posterity, by severall worthy hands : w^{ch} makes me the more admire the reason of your comānds to me in this particular ; unless it be yet to aggravate (if possible) the horrid actions of those sons of Belial, who reduced that great, wise, and pious King, their Lord and Sovereign to those Extremities ; by depriving him, for many months

together, of any manner of knowledg, that he had a freind remayning alive in the world : or that there was anything in being, except those vipers about him ; but by the private Intelligence he had by the hands of me, so inconsiderable as I am.

I could have added much to what I have sayd ; but think I have sufficiently tyred you : I shall only conclude with this ; that if I had ten thousand lives, and had spent them all (as I should willingly have done) to have preserved that great prince, I had been more than sufficiently recompenced in that last act of kindenesse of his ; when, the very day before that horrid murther was committed upon his sacred person, he was pleased to remember my services : and to give particular chardge to that worthy prelate Dr Juxon, then Bishop of London (for those reasons) to recomend me to the King his son : w^{ch} that good Bishop left in a Testimoniall under his Hand, as a Legacy to

S^r

Your most affectionate and
very humble servant
Henry Firebrace.

White Hall July 24th
1675.

The names of those persons, w^{ch} did privately correspond wth K. Charles, the first, by Letters during his Imprisonment in the Isle of Wight.

S ^r Edward Worsley of	Mr Fraser a phisitian.
..... in the Isle of Wight	M ^r Dowset.
M ^r Richard Osburne	Colonel Willin Legg
The Countesse of Carlisle	The Queene.
The wife of M ^r Broone	
Whorwood of in	
Oxfordshire.	
Colonel Titus.	
M ^r Henry Firebrace.	

APPENDIX B

THE DOWCETT LETTERS

THE original letters of the King to Dowcett are not now forthcoming, but they were copied on two separate occasions, first during the lifetime of Dowcett by a friend of his, James Jennings of Windsor, who was carpenter to Charles II, and secondly in 1734 by Mr. Philip Harcourt of Ankerwyke in Buckinghamshire, who forwarded them to Thomas Hearne. At that time they were in the possession of Mrs. Isabella Dowcett, a granddaughter of the man to whom they were addressed.

Jennings's copy appears to have been found at Windsor by the Rev. John Stoughton, D.D., and were printed by him in *Notices of Windsor and the olden time* (Windsor, 1844). Harcourt's transcription was re-written by Hearne and was printed by him as an Appendix to his edition *Benedictus Abbas Petroburgensis de vita et gestis Henrici II et Ricardi I* (1735).¹ His copy, written for the press, is now in the Bodleian Library, *Rawlinson MSS.* B225, fol. 1. The two copies are practically identical in substance, but Hearne's follows more exactly the King's spelling as shown in his letters to Firebrace and Titus, and is here reproduced.

THOMAS HEARNE'S MANUSCRIPT

N.B.—In the Appendix to the said *Annals of Dunstaple* is a collection of Letters relating to King Charles the First's escape from Oxford and to the Straits he was put to on that occasion. Since the publication of them my friend Mr. Philip Harcourt of Ankerwyke in Bucks, Esq. hath given me copies of several Letters, written by that

¹ The letters of course have no connexion with Benedict's work. Hearne wanted to publish them, and did so in the book on which he was engaged at the time that he received them from Mr. Harcourt.

truly great and good King, then also in his Straits, which I shall here annex in the manner they were transcrib'd by Mr. Harcourt from the originals communicated to him by a Lady who keeps 'em as a Proof of the Confidence which was reposd in her grandfather by his Sovereign.

I.

13 January 1647. (1647/8)

I thanke you for yr cautions, and be confident y^t I will be as carefull as you cane be, for your discovery will prejudice me as much as you : nor will I needlesly employ you in this Kynde : as now, this is most necessary that you send it soone awaye to him who sent you that which you gave me this morning : Keepe y^r wafers untill I call for them : for yet I do not want:

II.

This is cheiffly to shew you how I cane keepe Correspondency wth you : and withall I desyre to knowe when you cane send a Letter of myne to London: But especially when y^r wife goes. Also I desire you to deliver this inclosed to Mary with your own hands, & you may safely send me an Answer the same way that this comes to you: Hereafter know me by M: your selfe by F: and Mary by B:.

III.

That which you gave me wth this Paper informed me y^t the same Party sent you a former Letter for me by One of my owne Messengers, his Name, as I take it, is Graegg: Wherefore, if you have it not already inquire after it ; for I know by this last that I have not yet gott it ; this way I meant to J:A:¹ I shall not trouble you a good whyle ; but I would fain have you once a week convey a letter for me to my Wife=therefore expect One from me on Munday morning: You must not take it ill that I look sowerly upon you in publick ; but, by y^e Grace of God, you will never repent y^e Services you daily doe me:.

¹ Probably John Ashburnham.

IV.

Wensday 19 Janu. 1647 (1647/8)

I thanke you for your Cautions, & doubt not of my Carefullnes: I shall observe your dayes, & not trouble you oftener, except upon very urgent occasion: I hope y^e time will come that you shall thanke me for more than looking well upon you: but who was She that brought me the first Letter att Hornby? ¹ That which you last give me, was it that I looked for, in a word: let not Cautiousnesse begett feare, & be confident of me:.

V.

F:/ Deliver the bigger of thease two unto your wyfe it is for france, I neede say no more you know to whome: & give y^e other to Young Worsley, & desyre him to send it to him from whom hee had that Packett wch hee sent to me by you: let y^r wyfe assure all my friends that, by the Grace of God: I will neither be cheated nor frighted from my grounds: M:.

VI.

27 February 1647 (1647/8)

To Dowcett's
wife:/in
another hand
ye above
written.²

I know not y^r hand, but I finde by your Sence that you are one of my good friends: and that you judge rightly of these people in whose power I now am, who yet have made no addresses to me; but be confident y^t now I knowe y^m too well to be any more deceived by them: However I hartely thanke you for your Adverticement desiring to know who you are, for seriously I cannot guese: & I hope you neither will mistrust my discretion nor secresie: wherefore I expect that you will not let me be long ignorant to whom I owe the thanks of this tymely warning & good advyce; besides, I would by this safe way aske you some Questions, If I knew by which of my friends ye were trusted: M:.

I have burnt your Letter:.

¹ In Stoughton it is Hornby, evidently Holmby is meant.

² The words "to Dowcett's wife" were probably written by Dowcett himself. The remainder is Hearne's note.

VII.

To F.

F:/ I have spared you as long as I could : for that from B: wch I had from you upon Munday last, most necessarily requiring an answer ; & now I absolutely promise you not to trouble you any more in this kynde, unless your self, giving me the occasion shall think it fitt, until D: ¹ shall come, nor do I urge an answer to this, but by Sygne : that is to say, y^r right hand bare for y^e receipt of this, then if y^e last Packett you had from me : which indeed was of importance and haste : went awaye upon Munday : lett fall y^r hankercher: if since (for I am confident it is gone),² let fall one of your gloves: besydes, when you have given this Packett to B:, tell me newes of fresh Sparagos from London: and if she tells you y^t she beleives she will be able to observe my directions ; then tell me newes of Artichokes: And now know y^t I am not ignorant neither of y^e paynes nor hazard that you daily undergoe for my Service, and particularly in receiving of these Papers assuring you That by y^e Grace of God, I shall soe thinke of you for them, as if I prosper, you shall esteeme all these paynes and hazards well bestowed:.

VIII.

Wenesday morning.

I could have dispatched this soe soone yesterday as to have given you y^e sygne yesternight att Supper : but I would not presse upon you too soon, because of y^e good Service you did me on Munday last by y^e quick receiving of my important dispatch ; but now I shall not blame you, though you hazard not to fetch this, untill I be gone to Bowles : which is at that hower, ever day as I conceive you may come in heither without much danger : I say this only to assist you with my observations, and not to impose any Command upon you :

A different Hand ³ { This is all the Letters wch I could save of his late Maj^{ties} for I was forc'd to burne a matter of twenty wⁿ I was Prisoner att Carisbrooke Castle.

¹ D was the code letter for Firebrace.

² This parenthesis is found only in Stoughton. It was probably omitted by mistake in Hearne's copy.

³ Hearne's note indicating that the hand was Dowcett's.

IX.

Servant You now see by Experience that my Condition is much wors then you thought it would have beene, but yet it is not so ill as I expect it will be ; however all that I desire of you for y^e present is, that y^e will see to setle some way of intelligence betweene you and me, that y^e would send me a Chifer, to the end I might write freely to you : So farewell.
Saturday, 28 Feb.

Note by Hearne. The above last letter was upon a very small piece of paper & indorsd also by y^e same womans hand (Mrs. Dowcett) as follows :

This King Charles the first own writing to Dowcett¹ "I have taken particular care in the copying" (saith Mr. Harcourt, in his letter to me from Ankerwyke 25 Sept. 1734) "well knowing your exactnesse."

¹ It was probably written in the King's natural hand, when he expected that Dowcett would be discharged. The other letters would have been written in the old-fashioned hand used in the letters to Firebrace and Titus.

APPENDIX C

THE FIREBRACE LETTERS

BRITISH MUSEUM, *EGERTON MSS.*, 1788

THIS collection of letters and other documents contains 53 separate items of which the following is a summary :

1. 33 Letters from King Charles I to Henry Firebrace.
2. 1 Unsigned memorandum to Firebrace enclosing one of the King's letters. On the outside is a rough list of the King's correspondents with their code letters.
3. The King's receipt for money received.
4. The King's key to a cipher for correspondence between him and Firebrace.
5. 2 Letters from Firebrace to the King.
6. 2 Letters from the King to Mrs. Jane Whorwood.
7. 7 Letters from Mrs. Jane Whorwood to Firebrace.
8. 1 Letter from Lady Aubigny (Lady Newburgh) to Firebrace.
9. A list of the King's correspondents with their code letters.
10. Archbishop Juxon's certificate of Services rendered by Firebrace to the King, 1661.
11. King Charles II's letter to the Master and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1673.
12. 2 Letters from Sir William Dugdale to Firebrace, 1684.

These were carefully preserved by Firebrace and remained in the possession of his descendants until 1759, when on the death without issue of his great-grandson, Sir Cordell Firebrace, Baronet, of Melford Hall, Suffolk, that branch of the family became extinct in the male line. They then passed to his widow, who in 1762 married William Campbell, of Liston Hall, Essex, 4th son of Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyle. She died in 1782, and the

letters then came into the possession of her husband. On his death in 1787 they passed to a son by a former marriage, and in 1858 were the property of a grand-daughter of the above William Campbell, Miss Julia Campbell of Swindon House, Cheltenham, from whom in that year they were purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum.

Items Nos. 1-9 are here reproduced, Nos. 10 and 11 will be found in the text (pp. 204, 216) and No. 12 in Appendix A, pp. 251, 252.

The King's letters are written in a neat old-fashioned court hand which differs entirely from his ordinary writing, on common paper varying in size from a double sheet to a mere scrap. They have been folded into a compass of about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches (see p. 91). Thirteen are undated, two are dated "Monday night" and "Wednesday night" only. Firebrace's two letters to the King also bear no date.

These 17 letters soon lost their chronological order. Firebrace evidently did not number them himself but most of them have been endorsed with a number, apparently by some member of the family at a later date in an attempt to place them in the order in which they were written.

Their arrangement in the well-bound volume which contains the whole collection, shows that they were inserted therein in the order in which they were received from Miss Campbell.

An attempt has here been made to assign to each letter the approximate date on which it was written. These dates are based on clues found in the correspondence between the Derby House Committee and Col. Hammond, the King's letters to Titus, Firebrace's *Narrative*, other contemporary letters and newsletters, and in the contents of the letters themselves.

These clues are indicated in the Notes to each letter, but in the case of one of them, it is necessary to give here a more extended explanation. In F. 14¹ which is the King's answer to Firebrace's letter (F. 13), he states that he first heard of the approaching dismissal of Firebrace

¹ I.e. No. 14 in the series of the Firebrace letters. The Titus letters (Appendix D) are similarly here indicated by the letter T.

and Titus on "Sunday was senight." In T. 9, which is dated by the King himself "26 Ap. 1648," he defines it more particularly as "the day before the 17 of this month." In F. 13 Firebrace gives the first news of the Duke of York's escape on Friday night, Ap. 21. It was therefore written probably on the 23rd and the reply (F. 14) on the 24th. The dates which can be assigned to many of the letters depend on the dates on which the news of the dismissal of his servants reached the King. He stated distinctly that it was Sunday, Ap. 16. Evidence can be produced which shows that he knew of it a week earlier, on Sunday April 9.

The first five letters written to Titus (T. 1-5) relate mainly to the cutting of the bar in his bed-chamber window. Letters F. 4-8 are shown by their contents to have been written about the same time. Firebrace in his *Narrative* states that after the failure of the attempt of March 20 he sent for files and Aqua fortis from London, and Cromwell's letter to Hammond of April 6 states that Aqua fortis had gone down from London. Files are not specifically mentioned but they would have been sent at the same time. They would have reached the King before April 9, and on their arrival he asked for advice as to the best way to use them. But in the letter (T. 1) which from the context is placed first in the series, he mentioned the approaching departure of both Titus and Firebrace. The conclusion is that he had just received the information from Hammond, and it is therefore dated Ap. 9.

Further evidence is provided in Firebrace's *Narrative*. He states that when Hammond first heard of the escape of Mar. 20, which was reported in a newsletter of Mar. 26, he was examined by him, but only on a "general suspicion, he could point at nobody." But in Cromwell's letter of Ap. 6, Firebrace, Cressett, Burroughs and Titus are mentioned by name. Hammond receiving the letter on the 7th, would obviously take action at once, nor would he wait until the 16th before informing the King. Firebrace relates that he was again examined, and informed that he "and others" would be dismissed. Cressett had already gone, and Burroughs was sent away at once. Firebrace and Titus, whom he rightly suspected to be the leaders in the attempt, were allowed to remain for a time,

in the hope that they would further commit themselves. The evidence for the immediate dismissal of Burroughs is contained in letter F. 3 in which the King wrote : " What is become of T ? " It appears to have been written after Burroughs had gone, but before his interview with Hammond on the 9th. It is therefore dated Ap. 8.

In conclusion, if it be admitted that the King made a mistake of a week in letters F. 14 and T. 9, the whole series of the Firebrace letters falls naturally into place, and the gap between F. 2, which must have been written very soon after Mar. 24, and F. 12 which is dated " 23 Ap.," is filled.

Seven of the King's letters to Firebrace and Firebrace's two letters to the King, together with the list of correspondents (No. 49) have been printed in Barwick's *Life of Dr. John Barwick, D.D.*, 1724.¹ The author states that they were transcribed for him by the Rev. John Jeffery from " the originals in the possession of Charles Firebrace, Esq. of Melford Hall." Extracts from them and others are to be found in Hillier's " Charles I in the Isle of Wight," in Mr. Allan Fea's " Memorials of the Martyr King," and in other works, but the collection is now for the first time printed in full.

Each letter is headed as follows : in the centre the number in the present arrangement, on the left the folio number in the *Egerton MSS.* and below it Barwick's number in the nine letters printed by him. On the right is the number endorsed by some member of the Firebrace family. Below the centre number is the date. In the case of undated letters, this is given in brackets. Many of the letters are endorsed by the writer with the addressee's name or code letter. This is shown immediately above the letter itself.

The King's letters to Firebrace commence with Firebrace's code letter D and end with his own code letter J, and so are easily recognized. All other letters bear the names in brackets of writer and addressee.

¹ They have also been copied by Nichols in the Appendix to his *History of Hinckley* (1790). *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. vii, p. 161.

B.M. f. 2.

No. 1.

No. 1.

Barwick, No. 1.

(About March 22, 1647/8.)

ffor D

D:/ Since I see that A: (Cressett) cannot stay, you must take the more care to settle the intelligence, betweene my frends & me at London ; to w^{ch} end, I hope that you have shoven the Pocket (Packet) to F: (Dowcett).

I have written to W: (Titus) but it is only to refer him to you : wherfor let him know, that the narrowness of the Window, was the only impediment for my escape, & therfore that some instrument must be had to remoue the bar, w^{ch} I belieue, is not hard to gett; for I haue seene many, & so portable, that a Man might put them in his Pocket, & yet of force sufficient, to doe much more, then this comes too : I think it is cald, the endless screw, or the great fforce :. Lykewais, acquaint him with those other waise, that were in discourse amongst us ; desyring him upon the whole matter (as well out of his owen, as other mens inuentions,) to giue his judgement, w^{ch} is the most probable way to efect this business :

I shall dispatch all my letters this Night ; to witt fower : that with the french superscription, is for my Wyfe, & you are only to deliuer it in to Witherings Office, before Thursday at Night, as a Marchants letter for ffrance : that w^{ch} is directed to Mr. John Pile, is for W: (Titus) that all in Cypher, is for Dr. ffraiser : & the fourth is for Loe, the Marchant, to whom also you must giue those things, that I haue Sygned ; & tell him, that he must not make use of them, but according to such directions, as he will fynd in my letters to him :

Except you know more than I, there is no neede of alltering any more letters then I have done : if you can, let me speake with you this Night at the Chinke: J:

You see that I am better then my Word ; but however, I desyre to speake with you ; if it were but to know, whether or not you understand all my Directions :.

Note.—Cressett is still at Carisbrooke, he left on or before Mar. 24, see Hammond's letter of Ap. 22, and letter of Mar. 28 to the Earl of Lanark, quoted on p. 90.

B.M. f. 3.

No. 2.

No. ? 2.

(About March 24, 1647/8.)

D:/ You will fynde by this inclosed Note to T: (Burroughs) that I haue referd him to you : wherefore you must particularly show him, how he may be usefull to me in point of intelligence ; w^{ch} is so much the more needfull, because of A^s: (Cressett) misfortune : tell him also, what letters are changed, & why : Remember to, show F: (Dowcett) the Pocket (Packet) ; make as much haste back as you can ; & informe you selfe of all the Newes you may: J:

If it be possible, let me haue an Answer of some of my letters, this next Weeke ; especially of that to O (Low):

Let me know that you haue found this.

Note.—Cressett appears to have left recently, as Burroughs is instructed to take his place.

B.M. f. 6.

No. 3.

No. ? 4.

(April 8, 1648.)

D:/ deliuer this enclosed to Z: (Worsley) & tell him that it is for him to whom he sent my last ; also that I thanke him for his rediness to be sent by me, but for the present I haue no imployment for him : you shall doe well to show the Poket (Packet) to F (Dowcett) : as well as you done to A: (Cressett) in w^{ch} you did very well : I desyre, if may be, this Night, to speake with you at the Chincke, as I did yesternight

J:

What is become of T: ? (Burroughs).

Note.—Burroughs was dismissed Ap. 7. The King has not yet heard of it, *see* Introduction to the Letters.

B.M. f. 23.

No. 4.

No. 18.

Barwick No. 8.

*(FIREBRACE TO THE KING.)**(About April 10, 1648.)*

Sr:/

It is not ill to haue more wayes then one to effect your busines, to w^{ch} purpose I have thought of this. If the

fellow that waits on me ¹ could be made, (w^{ch} I think is noe hard matter) the busines might be ordered thus a fellow that shall be provided on purpose shall come in a fals beard, & a perriwig, & a white cap on, & a country gray, or blew coate, & a paire of coulerd fustian drawers to come over his breeches, & white cloth stockings & great shooes & an ould broad hatt ; to be touched of the evill, he shall make his addresses to this man of ours, to get him touched & pretend comendacōns or a tie from some espetiall freind, when he is touched (w^{ch} must be at supper tyme) the other shall take him into the Celler and make him drinck pretending joy to see him, and carry him about that the souldiers may take notice of him. You shall have the like disguise convey'd into your bedchamber (w^{ch} you may soone slip on) cominge up soe soone as you have supped, then my man shall by a signe give you notice when you may come forth and safely slip up staires into a little roome there (shutting the bedchamber doore after you w^{ch} may be done with ease, and wth out noyse) where you may remaine a little till he sees the best opertunity to bring you downe in his freinds disguise, and conduct you out of the gates, and from thence to your horses (w^{ch} he may do wth much ease being well beloved by the souldiers) his freind shall in some by place of the castle to be appoynted put of his disguise and leave it and goe away in his owne habbitt. This I conceive feasable if this fellow can be made w^{ch} I doubt not he haueing bin a long tyme servant to the pages of the backstaires and wth you at Oxford, this is only to hint this way to you, w^{ch} if you like shall be put in execution ; if you like it and read it before you goe forth this morninge, pray leave it that I may acquaint the rest wth, at our meeting, w^{ch} will be at 9 this morning.

I writ this in hast I could come at noe more paper.

Note.—The Derby House Committee warned Hammond of this scheme in their letter of Ap. 22. It may therefore be dated approximately Ap. 10.

¹ His name is mentioned in No. 7 as Hen. Chap. (probably Henry Chapman).

B.M. f. 4.

No. 5.

No. 2.

(About April 11, 1648.)

D:/ I have receaved your lynes, & herewith send you those lynes you dysyred to the Man,¹ who, you say, is so necessary an instrument : you see (for I would haue you read the Note) that I refer him to you ; wherefor I leue it to your discretion to tell him what you think fitt for my seruice:.

J:

Note.—This letter and the two following ones refer to Firebrace's plan, and to the King's letters on the same subject to Titus (T. 4, 5).

B.M. f. 9.

No. 6.

No. 7.

(April 12, 1648.)

D:/ by the answer w^{ch} I haue given to W: (Titus) (w^{ch} I desyre you to reade) you will fynde, that I haue thought of an addition to your Desygne ; w^{ch}, if I be not much mistaken does make it unquestionably the most practicable : upon w^{ch}, and other particulars ; I pray you lett me speake with you to Morow at Night if it be possible:.

J:

Note.—Written on same date as T. 4.

B.M. f. 24.

No. 7.

No. 18.

Barwick No. 9.

(April 13, 1648.)

ffor D:/

D:/ hauing wel thought of your new Desygne I can thinke but of one objection against it ; w^{ch} is least the Guards should examine me as I goe out ; but I conceaue, that a tryall of this way may be had without any danger of Discouery : for it is but making Hen: Chap: bring in, & carie out, some such acquaintance of his, so cloathed as you intend I should be : to see with what freedome he can make such a Man passe & repasse the Guardes ; (but in this tryall there must be no false Beard) upon w^{ch} a cleare judgement is easily made : as for the contruying of it ; I lyke it extreemly well, and therefore giue you

¹ Henry Chapman.

House 2.

I am nothing troubled at this miscarriage
in my confidence of a better success when none but
thyself whom I most highly do most faithful and
resolute shall undertake this accomplishment of it
(and but with the time I have with I preferred and
doubt not but your not despayn will attain the
crown of hope: only by the way is whomsoever you
write here maintain the opinion of the nullity
of our designs: for none is worthy of that high trust
but our belief: and I could wish I had an hour dis-
cuss with you to discover to you the villainage of
I have lately met with. when the party shall read
the books, beg a fight of it: and I shall hereafter
inform you more. but take my counsell and act
it with resolution and in despite of treachery we
will be happy in bringing our designs to pass: when
you shall be ready to do you the best office of a
friend than
I will be
will 20

backe your Note¹ againe : as also this other for W: (Titus) who I fynd is not fully satisfied with your Desygne : because for the danger of discovery : but take no notice of this:. J:

Note.—Written on the same date as T. 5.

B.M. f. 5.

No. 8.

No. 3.

(April 13, 1648.)

ffor D

The Answer to W: (Titus) (w^{ch} deliuer him as soone as you can) hath taken me so much tyme that I cannot answer yours till to morow : lykewais deliuer the fyle that I leaue to W: (Titus) and if you can, let me speake with you againe to Morow at Night: J:

Note.—Nos. 7 and 8 appear to have been written on the same day, in the morning and evening.

B.M. f. 17.

No. 9.

No. 1.

(April 20, 1648.)

(MRS. WHORWOOD TO FIREBRACE.)

Honest D

I am nothing troubled at thy miscarriage in my confidence of a better successe, when none but thyselfe (whom I most sett by as most faithfull and resolute) shall undertake the accomplishment of it and but hitt the time therein w^{ch} is prescribd and doubt not but your not despayre will attaine the crowne of hope : only by the way to whomsoever you write here, mainteine the opinion of the nullity of our designe : for none is worthy of that high trust but our selves : and I could wish I had an houres discourse with you to discouer to you the villanyes I have lately mett with : when the party² hath read the booke begg a sight of it : and I shall hereafter informe you more. but take my counsell and act it with resolution and in despite of trechery we wilbee happy in bringing our desyres to passe : wherein none shalbee more ready to doe you the best offices of a friend then

April 20th.

N

Note.—This letter would appear to have reached Firebrace only on the 26th, see Nos. 18 and 19, p. 283.

¹ F. 4.

² The King.

B.M. f. 15.

No. 10.

No. 13.

(About April 21, 1648.)

ffor D

D:/ I am verrey glad that your mistaking is so well past over; & that, since you must goe, you haue so much warning, for now I will write by you to London: wherefor I would faine haue you gett leave to stay untill Monday:¹

I desyre you to gett me some hard Wax, & Quilles uncut: also a paire of gray Stockings, to pull over my Bootehose, when tyme shall serue for our great Business: J:

The Gent: Ushers (Osborne) letter shall be L:

Note.—The code letter L is now first assigned to Osborne. All letters containing it were therefore written subsequently. It is found in Nos. 11 and 12 and in T. 6. and 7. No. 12 is dated by the King "23 Ap." Nos. 10 and 11 are dated about Ap. 21 and 22, but may have been written a few days before.

B.M. f. 7.

No. 11.

No. 5.

Barwick 2.

(About April 22, 1648.)

ffor D

D:/ I shall not faile to make L: (Osborne) finish the Bar; & you shall haue a full dispatch from to Morrow: I haue the Aqua fortis, but I can find no stockings: wherefore doe not forgett to give me them to Morrow:

J:

Note.—See Note to No. 10.

B.M. f. 18.

No. 12.

No. 14.

Barwick No. 5.

ffor D

23: Ap:

D:/ I pray you whats the reason that I had nothing this Night from W: (Titus) nor you? for I would be glad to know in what order he hath left businesses; at least if he haue forgotten, I desyre you to remember, to let me

¹ April 24.

know what directions are left with L: F: & Z: (Osborne, Dowcett & Worsley) that I gouerne my selfe accordingly:

I hope, this day at diner, you understood my lookes, for the soldier that I towled you of, whose lookes I lyke, was then there, in a whyte Night-cap : &, as I thought, you tooke notice of him:

To Morrow, I will begin to try the Bar ; &, at Night I will give you some account of it ; in the mean tyme, I hope to fynde something from you, to Morrow Morning, when I come in from Walking, in answer to this Note:

J:

Note.—Titus was still in the Castle. The letter appears to show that he had left, but he did not do so till the 25th. The date at the top of the original letter is clearly 23 and not 25.

B.M. f. 8.
Barwick 3.

No. 13.

No. 6.

(FIREBRACE TO THE KING.)

(April 23, 1648.)

S^r/ the Duke of York, is gone away,¹ whither it is not knowne, but hee's certainly gone, on Fryday night last ; I hope you will not be longe after him. This night I have thought of a new project w^{ch} by the grace of God, will effect your busines ; t'is this, In the back staires window ; are two casem^{ts} in each two barrs one of the barrs in that next the doore shall be cutt, w^{ch} will give you way enough to goe out I am certaine, the top of the hill comes within a yard of the casem^t : soe that you may easily step out and creepe close to the wall, till you come to a hollow place (w^{ch} you may observe, as you walke too morrow,) where with ease you may goe downe and soe over the out workes, If you like this way it shall be carryed on thus Hen: C: shall cut the barr, and doe up the gap with wax or clay soe that it cannot be perceiv'd, I have alread made it loose at the top, soe that when you intend your busines, you shall only pull it and t'will come, forth ; you must supp late and come up soe soone as you have sup't, put of your Geo: and on your gray stockins, and upon notice to be giuen you by H.C. come into the back staires and

¹ He escaped on the night of Ap. 21.

soe slip out, we shall meet you, and conduct you to your horses and from thence to the boate ; I have tould him of it, and hee'l undertake it, therefore pray leave some of your files that he may try too morrow when you are at bowles ; If you intend to try this way I think it not necessary to tell any els of it beside Z. (Worsley).

You keepe intelligence with somebody that betrayes you, for ther is a letter of yours sent to the G: ¹ from Derby House, (in Carracters) where you expresse words at length that though they do remove Titus Dowcett, & Firebrace yet you dispair not of your busines (or to that purpose) therefore pray think to whome you writ such a tie and be carefull God knowes what hurt this may do. I shall have a note to you from W: (Titus) too morrow. D.

If you like this way retorne the note wth your sence.

(THE KING TO FIREBRACE.)

Let none know of this way but only Z: Only we must be sure that horses be reddy on the other syde of the Water: J:

Note.—Firebrace gives the first information of the Duke of York's escape on the evening of Friday, Ap. 21. The news would have arrived at Carisbrooke on Sunday the 23rd.

B.M. f. 10.

No. 14.

No. 8.

Barwick No. 4.

(April 24, 1648.)

ffor D

D:/ I doe extreameley lyke of your newest Way, for if you can make me roome anufe to goe out at the Window you mention, I warant you (by the grace of God) that I shall get downe the Hill & ouer the Workes well anufe ; but I pray, for my satisfaction, giue me the bredthe of it, when one Bar will be taken away, that I may be sure not to sticke : & great care must had, that the fying be not discouered ; w^{ch} if you can doe ; I shall not much feare anything else : I haue begun my Bar, & make no doubt to effect it, without being perceaued, but for the tyme, I cannot yet tell: As for that supposed letter of myne, w^{ch} hath beene sent to the Gov: there can be no such ; for first, I neuer suspected that W: D: nor F: (Titus, Fire-

¹ Governor, Col. Hammond.

brace nor Dowcett) should be sent away before Sunday was senight,¹ since when, I made but one Dispathe; wherein I remember I wrote to letters in Cypher, in one of w^{ch}, I made no mention at all of any one of you; in the other (w^{ch} was to my Wyfe) if I said anything, eather of W: or D: (for I am sure, I said nothing of F:) it was in Cyfer; & not to that purpose as you are tould: but it is possible that the roague Withering,² hath discovered how I superscrybe to my Wyfe; & hath sent one of them to the Comitty; wherefore I desyre you to enquire, to see if I haue not guest right & not to send that letter you haue of myne, for my Wyfe, to the Post House; but rather to Doctor Fraiser, or my Lady Carelile, with a caution not to trust the Poste Maister: For the D: of Yorks journey seriously I know nothing of it (but what you haue tould me) but I pray God send him a happy journey: J:

If you can cutt the Barr, unperceived, questionless this last way is the best, and therfor I haue returnd your Paper and some fyles; but I keepe some for my Bar:. Giue me an answer to this, by Night, if you can:.

B.M. f. 12.

No. 15.

No. 10.

(April 24, 1648.)

D:/ this inclosed Answer to W: (Titus) hath hinderd me, this Night, to finishe my London dispatch; but, without faile (by the grace of God) I will to Morow before Noone: But I pray you let me know from whom you had the Packet, you left me this night; for I belieue there is a tricke in it: because I cannot imagen from whom it should come: Be sure to looke to Morrow when I goe to my Dinner: J:
Monday Night.

Note.—The enclosed letter to Titus is No. 7 written on the 24th, the day before he left. In it he refers to the packet, which he sent on to Titus believing it to be a "rogery." The date "Monday night" shows that it was written on Monday, April 24.

¹ April 16. But he knew of the approaching dismissal a week earlier. See Introduction to the Letters, p. 268.

² The Postmaster.

B.M. f. 13.

No. 16.

No. 11.

(April 25, 1648.)

ffor D

D:/ Since it was W: (Titus) that deliuered you the Packet yesternight, I belieue he did it to try if I would leape as such baites ; but the Answer will fit him ; wherfore I hope he has it before now ; & I pray you press him to Answer me spedely without taking notice of any-thing for faith I thinke he is honnest, only he desyers it may be, to try my Witt: You haue now the Dispatch I promised you ; & I desyre you to giue me an account when it goes away : allso I pray you so to order things with F: (Dowcett) that if you be turned away I may not loose my London intelligence ; I say not this, that I totally dispare of our great Business, (but that you would encourage F: whom I fynd some what feareful in your absence) for really I beliae W: harty and hopefull in it: J:

Of all this giue me an account as soon as you can:

I am far from fynding falt with your jealousie ; I hope you will not mislike my confidence:.

Note.—The Packet from Titus was delivered “yesternight,” so this was written on Ap. 25.

B.M. f. 14.

No. 17.

No. 12.

(April 25, 1648.)

ffor D

D:/ yours in your ordinarie hand much trobled me : not only that you must goe from hence (^{w^{ch}} really is a greate misfortune to me) but I cannot restore you that Packet I had of you yesternight ; for the truth is, that I sent it to W: (Titus) supposing that some intended to put a tricke upon me, in his Name ; wherfore, your just excuse must be, that, because he saide nothing to you, you deliuered it to me, knowing that he was to write at large to me : now by what you tell me, if I judge right ; you may stay here for some few dayes yet : wherfore I desyre you to giue me as much warning, before you goe, as you can, that I may wryte by you to London, ^{w^{ch}} I belieue will be no hard worke ; for since they can prove nothing against you ; you may easily obtaine a day or

twos respet, after you are discharged ; at least, you may stay, for some tyme, at Newport : howeuer be confident, that whereuer you be, I shall remember the service you haue done me, & when I am able shall reward it:. J:

I pray you let me know, when the Packet left you this Morning, goes away, & harten F: (Dowcett) to suply your absence : Now I thinke of it : I doubt that you haue not yet, giuen my letter, (w^{ch} I wrote yesternight) to W: but, if you haue not, I desyre you to doe it, as soone as you can ; for, take it upon my word, Truth is allwais the best excuse for any error, espetially for mistakings, as yours was.

Note.—The King again refers to the Packet given to him “Yesternight” which shows that it was also written on Ap. 25. Firebrace has told him that his departure was imminent. The letter to Titus mentioned in the last paragraph is evidently No. 9 which contains his explanation of the indiscreet references to his three servants, but it is dated April 26, whereas he states here he wrote it “yesternight” the 24th. The first “yesternight” would appear to be wrong, or he misdated his letter to Titus.

B.M. f. 19.

No. 18.

No. 15.

Barwick No. 6.

ffor D

April 26, 1648.

D:/ I desyre you first to remember to leaue perfect Instructions with L: & F: (Osborne & Dowcett) how to send my letters to London & to receaue answers from thence without suspition ; to this end, I thinke it best that the outward Couers of all your Dispatches, should be directed to some honnest Townsman of Newport ; (that may be trusted with so much as the conueiane [conveying], of letters) & he to aduertice hither, when he has any letters : & by this meanes, our Packets will neuer runne the hazard, of faling into the Go ; fingers ; besydes, when you send any Expresses ; agree of some token, (eather by word, or writing) wherby to know him from a knave.

Of my letters to carry to London (with thease that I giue you this day) will haue one to my Wyfe, one to my L: Carlile, one to W: L: (William Legge) one to A: (Cressett) two to N: (Mrs. Whorwood) & two to O: (Low) for the

first, you shall doe well to aske aduyce, how it may be safely sent ouer to ffrance ; & inquire well, whether, or not, Witherings hath plaid the knave : those to O: concerns your selfe, wherfor none else must deliuer them : I would also have your selfe the deliuerer of those to N: because they are of some concernment, & demand an Answer espetially to the last ; for the rest so that the Parties haue them, it maters not much by whom ; yet it were not amis that your selfe gaue that to my L: Carlile :

Now as to my maine Business ; be carefull to make L: (Osborne) rightly to understand the Desygne of the Backstairs Window, as lykewais that other of my Window ; that I may leaue or chuse as I shall for occasion ; also you must rememb W: (Titus) to lay Horses one the othersyde of the Water, & let me know, when & where ; nor let that be long a doeing ; for it were a wofull thing to loose an opportunitie heere, for falt of preparations there: As for those other Desyignes, you towled me of, I leaue those to your managing, only promising you exact Secresie therein & expecting an account for you : so much for the affirmative ; now for the negative: You must not lett A: nor O: know of any present desygne ; but giue them leave to believe, that your dismissions hath made us lay by all such thoughts for a tyme:.

If any, with whom I keepe Correspondencie, does betray me; it must be O: yet he bragged to me in his last letter, that he furnished the Duke of Yorke with 150^s for his Jurny ; but the truth is, that N. (for whose fidelity I will answer) doth suspect him, &, in the last Packet, hath giuen me warning of him : concerning whom, my conclusion is ; doe not dishartne him ; gett what Mony you can of him ; but doe not trust him : & lett me tell you, it was not I, that acquainted him with the Greate Business ; for I found his Name at the joynt letter, w^{ch} you sent me, before euer I imaged, that he knew of any such thing : & I assure you, that I neuer wrote anything of moment to him, but only made use of him, for conueyance of letters, & sending me Newes ; in a Word ; be as confident of my discretion as honnesty, for I can justly brag, that yet, nether Man nor Woeman ever sufferd ; by my Tongue or Pen, for any Secrett that I haue beene trusted withall:

Heere I send you my Answer to Z: (Worsley) unsealed

that you may read it, because, I refer him to you to impart unto him all our severall Desynges ; for he is the only Man who of necessity must know all:. It was not amiss that you turnd me backe my little Packet to W: (Titus) for I had sent him a letter in it, w^{ch} now I fynde directed to you : so that, I haue mended an error, w^{ch} I had allmost made, for now, you haue what you ought to haue, & W: no more then is his owen ; to whom I haue written verry freely ; (wherfore you must deliuer my letter to him your selfe) yet haue imparted nothing to him, eather concerning Z:^s (Worsley's) desygne or that or W: L:^s (William Legge's) but that of the Backestaires Window, referring him to you for the particulars : as for conueying my letters to my Wyfe you may aduise eather with Doctor ffraiser or my L: Carlile : I haue now no more to say, but giue me an Account how you haue performed all thease directions of myne, & be confident that I am

Your constant frend

J:

26 Ap. 1648.

B.M. f. 21.

No. 19.

No. 16.

ffor D.

27 Ap: 1648

D:/ This Note, that, you, this Morning left me, & w^{ch} now I returne to you, I know by the fowldings, to be the same that, I had once inclosed to W: (Titus) & that it is written by N: (Mrs. Whorwood) the Villanies she mentions, she suspects O: (Low) for, & that he is the Author of those two passages in the Printed Paper that I haue stored ; w^{ch} now also I leaue you : & (as I told you yesternight) upon my Word, you may trust N: & I believe you will fynd her industrious in, & usefull to, my Service:

I pray you take order, that I may haue a Dispatch conueyed to London, upon Monday or Teusday next, (for I haue two letters of my Wyfes to Answer) & for this, send me word, from Newport, with whom you haue left the Care. I haue the Stockings & fyles ; & shall use your Cypher if L: (Osborne) can make me understand it:

J:

Restore me the Printed Paper, before you goe, if you can, otherwais from Newport.

Hereafter let

Will Legg
My La: Carlile } be { C:
My Wyfe } { E:
 } { M:

And giue notice of this addition both to W: & N:

In point of secresie, giue no great Trust to E:

Note.—The letter from Mrs. Whorwood mentioned in this and in No. 19, appears to be hers of Ap. 20 (No. 9), which had only reached Firebrace the day before.

B.M. f. 11.

No. 20.

No. 9.

(April 28, 1648.)

ffor D

D:/ I forgot one thing yesternight, w^{ch} is, that you would learne what promis the Duke of Yorke hath made, to the two Houses, for not writing to the King or receauing letters from him: Remember to cale to A: (Cressett) for those Writings, w^{ch} you ar to deliver to O: (Low) from me : tell F: (Dowcett) that, when he sees me pull downe the skirts of my Doublet, then he is to looke for something in the Pocket : & so God send you a good journey, & speedy returne: J:

Let me know (by your selfe or F:) that you haue receaued these Directions:.

B.M. f. 22.

No. 21.

No. 17.

ffor your selfe/

Sonday 30. Ap: 1648.

D:/ Since you fynde that W: (Titus) hath no good opinion of C: (Col. Legge) you must still forbear to let W: (Titus) know that you or I haue any intelligence with C:.. I pray you searche diligently if any of my letters miscaried that I wrote to M: (The Queen) & giue me an account of it ; as also how W: proceeds in our maine business ; & if it be possible, let me heare from you once a Weeke:.. I now understand your Cypher ; and when I have matter of much importance I will use it, & so you may to me ; but let it be but for businesses of great secresy for I fynde it troblesome: I know you will be

careful of thease two inclosed letters ; for that to M: (The Queen) I hope before this comes to your hand, you will haue learned how to send it ; but I desyre you to deliuer that to N: (Mrs. Whorwood) with your owen hands, & allwais let her know when you send to me, that I may by you receaue her letters forget not to send me as much newes as you can:

J:

B.M. f. 1.

No. 22.

Barwick No. 7.

(May 3, 1648.)

D:/ I haue now made a perfect tryale, & fynde it impossible to be done, for my Boddy is much too thicke for the bredthe of the Window ; so that unless the midle Bar be taken away I cannot gett through : I haue also looked upon the other two, & fynde the one much too litle, & other so high, that I know not how to reache it without a Lether (Ladder) ; besydes I doe not believe it so much wyder then the other, as that it will serve : wherefor it is absolutely impossible to doe anything to Morow at Night: But I comand you hartely and particularly to thanke in my Name A: C: F: Z: (Cressett, Legge, Dowssett, Worsley) & him who stayed for me beyond the Workes (Firebrace) ; for their harty and industrious endeauours in this my seruice, the w^{ch} I shall alwais rember to their advantage : being lykewais confident that they will not faint in so good a Worke ; & therefore expect their further aduyce herein:

J:

Wedensday Night.

Note.—The date of this letter is fixed by the Derby House letter of May 2, 1648, see p. 106.

B.M. f. 16.

No. 23.

No. 14.

(? May 5, 1648.)

for D or W

(Beginning of letter torn off.)

it necessary to send this honnest trusty bearer¹ of it: I haue now no more to say to you but that I

¹ Some words are here illegible owing to the sheet having been torn across the end of the line.

desyre an account from you of all those directions I gaue you at & since your going : & that you would send this inclosed to M: (The Queen) This New Cyfer is for your selfe ; w^{ch} I believe you will fynde much better then that you left me ; let the word be HONEST w^{ch} though it that, w^{ch} you left me yet I name it againe to be sure, for some write it with a double [N:] but for this purpose it is best with a single:

I pray you hasten this honest and trusty bearer Z: (Worsley) backe again full fraughted with Newes: J:

L: (Osborne) desyres that M^s. Whiler (Wheeler) would no more wryte to him by uncertaine Messengers ¹ she would put her letters eather in W^s or D^s (Titus's or Firebrace's) Packets:

Thanke B: (Mary) from me, for the two Pamflets she sent me by L:

If W: open this Packet, I pray him to see done what herein I have directed:. J:

Note.—This is perhaps the letter mentioned in the King's letter to Worsley as having been carried by him on May 5. See App. F. The Worsley letters, No. 1, p. 348.

B.M. f. 53

No. 24.

THE KING'S CIPHER.

B.M. f. 25.

No. 25.

No. 2.

May 13, 1648.

(MRS. WHORWOOD TO FIREBRACE)

ffor my respected ffriend

M^r ffirebras

My ffriend

With my best wishes I salute you nor shall I trouble you with more than to inform you I am happily arrived at the place appointed ; and waite the good houre of meeting with our ffriends, (to my grieffe and wonder not yet come) what newes you haue concerning them or

¹ Two or three words illegible on fold of paper which has been torn and stuck together, ? but that.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+
B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A
C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B
D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C
E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D
F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E
G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F
H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K
M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L
N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M
O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N
P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O
Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P
R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
T	V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
V	W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T
W	X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V
X	Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W
Y	Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X
Z	+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y
+	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	W	X	Y	Z

I have made this new Cipher to remedy the imperfection of the other; for whereas by the former, Words could not be distinguished but by spaces (which, agreed decipherers may undo, what is written, without a Key) now, by this, they are distinguished by Dots: without the least trouble either to the Reader or Writer: As for Example; suppose the Word be [From]

13 { Dcabcclnauupubandnptscffunafu
 Command my service to my Minister

what may concerne your ffriend, quickly dispatch to the most longer of letters from you.

Yours

May 13.

N

Note.—Written on a double sheet and sealed.

B.M. f. 27.

No. 26.

No. 3.

(J. BROWNE TO FIREBRACE.)

May 15, 1648.

Sr

Wee doe very much wonder yt in all this weeke, wee haue heard nothing from you^u ; all ye time past, we haue been in a readines to depart ; but now lye under a contrary winde ; & some suspicon hauing neglected a faire winde ; therefore wee could not omitt to giue you^u notice yt wee intend to remoue into Margaretts Roade, & therefore haue sent upp the bearer heerof, that if they bee not come out before this arriues you^u, you^u may lett them know itt, yt soe they may come to the Reculuers, or Birchington where I shall not faile to meete them ; but, in case they should bee come forth before you^u receiue this then I shall lye at one ferry comeing into this Isleland, & ye bearer att his returne att another, soe to prevent theire comeing hither & to guide them to ye other place. I haue nothing else but to intreat yt you^u faile not to send word punctually how yr buisines stands, & what (?) speed hath been since (?) their departure by this bearer who is faithfull & honest & will (?) be heere too morrow night, & to remaine

Sr

N

Your trew ffriend

N desires you to send
what news you can & remember
her to you^u

J BROWNE

15 May: 1648 :

Note.—The writer appears to have been the Master of the Ship.

B.M. f. 28.

No. 27.

No. 4.

(MRS. WHORWOOD TO FIREBRACE.)

May 17.

My ffriend

I am of your opinion, O (Low) putt his questions but to sift ; for I left a letter for N^s bedfellow sufficient to satisfy him : in what state wee have been are and shalbe (in relation to our present busines) Browne will informe you : I shall only lay an importunity on you of hasting on the busines. I am growne high into the fauour of the Corporation here, and doubt not to haue all the civilityes the place is capeable to show : the Wind being contrary hath much befriended us, but if it should chance to change (to avoyd suspicion) wee shall be enforct aboard : but care shalbe taken as it shall nothing preiudice the effecting our desyres. The Passes may happen to be very usefull, for upon our late contest with Cap: Cooke it was resolu'd that our Captaine might without opposition take any with them into his ship for their passage : wherefore let not (if to be compast) such a putt off (if any occasion should require it) be wanting to us. I am sorry my note booke noe more effect ; but be assured noe money you shall disburse but at my returne shall with thanks by myselfe be repayd you. pray make all the speed you can for I lye at very great charge and am in more discontents and feares through this prolongation : on your part, and be confident of noe faile in

N

B.M. f. 29.

No. 28.

No. 5.

May 31, 1648.

(MRS. WHORWOOD TO FIREBRACE.)

ffor my ffriend D

My ffriend

I received the 29th instant a note from W: (Titus) that he would that day be with mee (he and as I faine would have understood the other partyes being at the dispatch thereof at Tunbridge in Kent) but his faile thereof hath putt me into great perplexityes ; pray send this inclosed away instantly ; and informe mee of all occurrents in

relation to our Mr, more particularly what you conceiue to be the occasion of this delay, for longer then one weeke more it will not be possible without manifest and impatible inconueniencies to abide here. what you have to impart to mee, presently dispatch mee by this Bearer and soe in haste resteth

Your assured ffriend

N

May 31.

B.M. f. 31.

No. 29.

No. 1.

ffor your selfe.

Monday 10 July 1648.

D:/ Your thought is right, for I did belieue that your last, before this,* had been from W: (Titus), but now am *5 July confident that I shall mistake no more, & heerafter will direct my letters to you as you have desyred ; as you will finde by the indorsement of this: As for the Papers you mention, the truth is, they are burnt ; therefore if you thinke them necessarie, you must find new : you may be assured that I shall not discover your way of sending ; for, seriously, yet I doe not know it ; but when I doe you, may be confident of my secrecie : Comend me to all my ffriends ; particularly to L: Z: & F: (Osborne, Worsley, & Dowcett) assuring them that though I haue been pumpt, yet I nether haue, nor will, say any thing, that may prejudice them: I shall say no more at this tyme but only to desyre you to send as oft as you can to

Your assured ffriend

(written in margin)

J :

Be careful to deliuer this inclosed safely to W^s : owen hands

Since the writing of this, yours of the 3^d of this month is come to my hands ; by w^{ch}, I know your new way of sending ; & herein I promise you exact secrecie:

I must now recant my pretended knowledge of your second way, for really I fynde that I was mistaken ; & cannot imagen who conueyed it to me

I pray you send me word what is become of N: A: T: & O: (Mrs. Whorwood, Cressett, Burroughs & Low) because, haueing now had three Dispatches from you, I haue heard nothing from any of them:.

There is ill Newes come hither concerning the Earle of Holand I pray God, it be not true.

B.M. f. 32.

No. 30.

No. 2.

ffor your selfe

Teusday 18 July, 1648.

D:/ Yours of the 13th of this Month I receaued upon Saterdag last, wth one from N: (Mrs. Whorwood) & an other from L: (Osborne) to both w^{ch} you will finde heere inclosed an answer ; but I wonder that I had none from W: (Titus) for by his of the 5: of this Month (since when I haue not heard from him) he promist to write to me within two days ; yet it may be that he hath written some other way, & that his letters hath miscaried ; wherfore you shall doe well to acquaint him, with what I have now written:. I haue now no more to say, but that I thanke you for your Newes ; desyring the continuance of your aduertisments, as often as you may : farewell

Your asseured frend.

J:

B.M. f. 33.

No. 31.

No. 3.

for D.

ffriday 21 July 1648.

D:/ Yours of the 17: of this Month, together with those from M: N: & E: (The Queen, Mrs. Whorwood & Lady Carlisle) I receaued upon Wedensday last, to all w^{ch}, you will heare with receaue Answers: Now through I returne my letters to you, by an other hand¹ then that by w^{ch} yours comes to me ; doe not thinke that I mislyke or distrust your way ; for there is such a necessity in it, as I cannot particularly tell you of it, without more troble to me, then it is worth, espetially having no Cypher with you but the Alphabet, w^{ch} I finde most tedious, & much subject to error ; wherfor pray you rather send to me

¹ By Hopkins's messenger. See No. 9, p. 325.

both waise, then forsake your owen : the uncertainty where my eldest Sone is, makes me now not write to him ; besyds, thease other three letters hath taken up so much tyme, that I am unwilling to stay this Dispatch any longer:. I thanke you for your Newes in returne to w^{ch} I cannot but tell you of an accident (w^{ch} we Royalists take for a good Omen) w^{ch} was, that the Governour, upon Wedensday last, walking close by the King, upon a slip, fell flat on his backe, not at all disordering the Kings pase, more then by lafing at the falle:. Comend me to B: & H: (Mary and Mrs. Wheeler) telling them that now since a Treaty is Voted, I thinke possible that they may gett leaue to waite, as they haue done, w^{ch} I would haue them try to obtaine because I know it would please the King well:. Still remember to send as often as you can to
Your asseured frend

J:

I desyre you to continue
the sending me of the
Printed Weekly Newes.

Note.—The endorsement “for D” is not in the King’s hand. It was perhaps written by Hopkins.

B.M. f. 24.

No. 32.

(THE KING TO MRS. WHORWOOD.)

Monday 24: July 1648.

65 ; 17 ; 15 ; 18 ; 4 ; 27 ; 390 ; [Sweete Jane Whorwood] Your two letters of the 19. of this Month, I receaued late yesternight ; & supposing that I cannot giue you a greater complement, then the endeuoring to satisfie your desyrers ; I must tell you, that without any difficulty you may see the King, & speake to him too, so that you doe not offer to whisper ; but you will not gett leaue to speake priuatly with him, unlesse you had a recomendation from Darby-House so to doe : 385 : 215 : 220 : 21 : 33 : 32 : 5 : 339 : 342 : 218 : 282 : 15 : 363 : 20 : 2 : 66 : 65 : 16 : 9 : 31 : 18 : 339 : 384 : 257 : 189 : 11 : 26 : 23 : 66 : 50 : 12 : 3 : 222 : 171 : 258 : [Yet I imagen that there is one way possible that you may get answering from me] (You must

excuse my plaine expressions) 362 : 218 : 337 : 189 :
 30 : 309 : 34 : 216 : 24 : 93 : 60 : 27 : 364 : 338 :
 265 : 17 : 22 : 250 : (371 : 384 : 257 : 347 : 172 :
 65 : 198 : 271 : 127 : 14 : 21 : 218 : 32 : 88 : 259 :
 239 : 66 :) 85 : 103 : 201 : 10 : 15 : 26 : 53 : 18 :
 66 : 384 : 257 : 104 : 127 : 29 : 30 : 59 : 27 : 57 :
 216 : 337 : 338 : 65 : 68 : 41 : 52 : 56 : 32 : 43 :
 35 : 2 : 22 : 49 : 15 : (362 : 218 : 364 : 216 : 259 :
 104 : 63 : 67 : 6 : 92 : 9 : 18 : 44 :) 367 : 215 : 92 :
 89 : 57 : 216 : 5 : 27 : 70 : 539 : 103 : 362 : 54 : 32 :
 93 : 15 : 65 : 215 : 331 : 195 : 3 : 58 : 41 : 17 : 18 :
 35 : 66 : 404 : 337 : 407 : 85 : 278 : 12 : 384 : (172 :
 155 : 59 : 137 : 26 : 8 : 4 : 27 : 44 : 63 : 216 : 53 :
 32 : 70 : 215 : 65 : 6 : 3 : 24 : 259 : 330 : 14 : 47 :
 45 : 88 : 282 : 15 : 172 : 324 : 243 :) 85 : 367 : 215 :
 185 : 11 : 21 : 62 : 50 : 88 : 28 : 222 : 66 : 198 :
 126 : 316 : 64 : 19 : 29 : 18 : 384 : 359 : 202 : 155 :
 345 : 340 : 322 : 303 : 51 : 27 : 220 : possible (87 :
 215 : 203 : 217 : 373 : 268 :) 385 : 215 : 92 : 66 : 3 :
 35 : 32 : 340 : 265 : 50 : 2 : 250 : 126 : 127 : 14 : 26 :
 12 : 337 : 258 : 369 : 239 : 65 : 384 : 373 : 191 : 201 :
 375 : 172 : 384 : 255 : 104 : 30 : 60 : 309 : 34 : 216 :
 4 : 15 : 63 : 364 : 201 : [which is to get acquaintance
 with the new woman (who you may trust for she now
 convaise all my letters) and by her meanes you may be
 convayed into the stoole roome (which is within my bed-
 chamber) while I am at dinner by which meanes I shall
 have 3 (? 5) howers to embrace and nippe you (for every
 day after dinner I shut myself upp alone for so long) and
 while I go a walking she can relive you when however
 this should prove impossible (as I hold it will not) yet I
 am sure this new woman can convay to me what letters you
 would give her wherefore you must be acquainted with
 her.]

Heereinlosed you will receaue the Bill¹ signed by the
 King as you desyred: But as for the Memoriall ye sent for
 my owen use it will need an inter
 (*rest of the letter torn off*).

Note.—The interpretation of the cipher is enclosed in square
 brackets.

B.M. f. 35.

No. 33.

24: July 1648.

I acknowledge to haue receaued of Will: Wi[- - -] (at or about the 20th of May last) the full summe [of] one Hundred pounds of lawfull English Mon[ey]

CHARLES R.

Note.—The right-hand side of sheet is torn, and the name cannot be read. The blanks in the second and third lines are filled in in square brackets. The receipt is written in the King's natural hand.

B.M. f. 36.

No. 34.

No. 4.

for D:/

Wednesday 26: July 1648.

D:/ your Dispach of the 20: this Month I receaued upon Sondag last, the other of the 24: this Morning; to both w^{ch} all I can say is; hartely to thanke you for your diligence, desyring the continuance of it:

You will receaue heere with the letter for Z: (Worsley) as you desyred: also one to E: (Lady Carlisle) & another to N:¹ (Mrs. Whorwood), praying you to excuse me to E: that I haue not answerd her last letter for feare of loosing this oportunitie: & I desyre you, in case N: be gone out of Toune before this Packett come to your hands, to send it speedely after her, because it may assist her in her journey: So farewell

Your assured frend

J:

Befor this Weeke end, I will make another dispache to you, by the unknowen way.²

B.M. f. 37.

No. 35.

(THE KING TO MRS. WHORWOOD.)

Wednesday 26: July.

65; 17; 15; 18; 4; 27; 390: [Sweete Jane Whorwood] your of the 23: of this Month, to my contentment

¹ No. 35.² By Hopkins's courier.

came this Morning to my hands ; w^{ch} hath spaired me the paines of writing to 360¹ ; for reasons I hope to tell you by word of mouth:. Now all that I can ad to my former is, that 219 : 384 : 245 : 28 : 27 : 268 : 285 : 168 : 220 : possible 338 : 363 : 339 : 215 : 195 : 66 : 32 : 4 : 384 : 57 : 2 : 3 : 5 : 15 : 172 : 21 : 305 : 81 : 337 : 258 : 69 : 88 : 215 : 126 : 344 : 282 : 218 : 62 : 339 : 384 : 255 : 216 : 14 : 217 : 18 : 386 : 330 : 337 : 63 : 216 : 53 : 27 : 337 : 11 : 60 : 26 : 20 : 23 : 10 : 12 : 31 : 57 : 257 : 65 : 43 : 67 : 6 : 92 : 9 : 32 : 35 : (362 : 218 : 5 : 161 : 24 : 55 : 63 : 285 : 15 : 337 : 259 : 53 : 18 :) 375 : 215 : 373 : surprise 384 : 85 : 104 : 68 : 50 : 216 : 27 : 11 : 16 : 32 : 65 : 4 : 85 : 27 : 90 : 5 : 157 : 189 : 384 : 30 : 56 : 282 : 15 : 23 : 216 : 337 : 259 : 60 : 58 : 92 : 13 : 18 : 44 : 375 : 215 : 373 : 66 : 49 : 2 : 338 : 70 : 390 : 264 : 407 : 32 : 65 : 362 : 337 : 104 : 144 : 222 : 218 : 252 : 243 : 103 : 386 : 62 : 254 : 238 : 222 : 391 : 359 : [if you lyke not or fear impossible the way that I have set you doune for a passage to me all I counte on is that you must invite yourself to dinne(x) to Capt. Myldmays chamber (which is next dore to myne) where I will surprise you and between jest and earnest smother Jane Whorwood with embraces which to be doing is made long by your most loving CHARLES]

B.M. f. 38.

No. 36.

No. 6.

July 27, 1648.

(MRS. WHORWOOD TO FIREBRACE.)

ffor Mr Firebrasse

My ffriend

ffinding upon the discyphering thereof our Masters letter as to the satisfaction of him in the contents of it, could not soe suddenly challenge an answer I was willing to decline it. but hauing in some sort acquir'd the meanes to doe it, I haue now wrote and intreat your speedyest convey thereof. I must not likewise be deny'd the fauour to speake with you this evening how late soeuer it be before you can come : for to morrow I shall goe out of towne, and there is a necessity of some conference with

¹ The name of this correspondent has not been traced.

you first. wherefore as you respect mee or (that greatest engagement) I, faile you not to fulfill this request of

Your affectionate
ffriend

July 27.

N

Note.—The letter is endorsed with a good seal showing the arms of Whorwood impaling Ryder.

B.M. f. 40.

No. 37.

No. 5.

for D:/

Saturday 29. July. 1648.

D:/ according to my promis by myne of Wedensday last, I send you this Dispach, w^{ch} is the thinnest you haue yet had from me ; for W: (Titus) put me in hope by his last that I migh(t) see him shortly heere ; & also I believe that N: (Mrs. Whorwood) is gone to se a frend ; so that heere is only one to E: (Lady Carlisle) yet I would not forbear to wryte though I had less to send you, to incourage this way of conueyance, for it is safe, unsuspected, & not tyed to Dayes ; wherfor I desyre you to make use of it, in your Answers to me : & a Gods name use as many other ways as you will: Tell F: (Dowcett) that I will remember the Note he mentions that I sent to him by L: (Osborne):. This is all at this tyme from

Your asseured frend

J:

B.M. f. 41.

No. 38.

No. 6.

for D:

Teusday 1. Aug: 1648.

D:/ Upon Saterday last, in the afternoone, I made a Dispach to you, & that Night after Supper I receaued yours of the 27: of July wherein I had 2 letters from M: (The Queen) one from E: (Lady Carlisle) & none from N: (Mrs. Whorwood) it is no purpose to write to G: (Prince Charles) or S: (The Duke of York) untill I know

where they are : I haue now written clearly to E: (Lady Carlisle) concerning what the King said of the Governor, or in relation to Osbornes busines ; as for Tobisons report, it is such a nonsense ; no boddy can belue it ; for, albeit the king does not suspect the Governor would Murther him; must it therfor follow, that he lykes his basse Imprisonment, certainly he hath not beene bred up, in such a Cedentary lyfe, that he lykes to be Coopt up ; nor is he of so indifferent a disposition, as to be content to have noboddie about him that he can, with anie reason, trust:.

The other letter heerinclosed is to wq cepw htmrmgz : ¹ (my lady Obigny) in answer to on I receaued, in this your last Packett, w^{ch} I belue, you thought had been from N: (Mrs. Whorwood).

I send you this, by my way, because those of your conueyance neuer gives account when my Packets goes away ; so that I still in feare of their not going untill the answer come from you : for example ; I hope to receaue to morrow from you an answer to that I wrote to you upon Wedensday last, (w^{ch} was by your way) but I haue no account of it whether it be gone or not:. I haue now no more to say ; but to thanke you for, & desyre you to continue, your diligent writing to

Your asseured frend

J:

B.M. f. 42.

No. 39.

No. 7.

for D:/

Wedensday 9. Aug: 1648.

D:/ This must pay you the debt of three letters, one without a date, one of the 3: the other of the 4: of Aug: but, I haue been so bussy thease 3: or 4: dayes (you may easily guess with what) that I haue foregot when or by whom I receaued them : with much adoe, I haue sent in this inclosed to E: (Lady Carlisle) a Coppy of the Kings Answer concerning the Treaty ; w^{ch} hath cost me so much pains that you must excuse me to all the

¹ The cipher is the one left with him by Firebrace, not the improved one shown in No. 24.

rest of my frends for not writing to them at this tyme :
So I rest

Your asseured frend

J:

The large Answer in the Kings
behalfse seems to me, an excellent Booke
Euen now I receaued your dispatch
of the 7 of this Month, wherein were
dyuers from many of my frends ; but
at this tyme I haue not tyme to answer
them

B.M. f. 43.

No. 40.

No. 8.

Monday 14. Aug:

D:/ my last of the 9: w^{ch} though it was not verry
thicke yet it wanted not substance : this giues you an
Account that I have receaued your two Dispatches of the
7 & 10 of this Month ; to both w^{ch} I can only answer you
with thanks for the good intelligence I therby receaued:
Thease two inclosed, I desyre you to see safely & speedely
deliuered, espetially that to E: (Lady Carlisle) for therein
are letters both to M: (The Queen) and G: (Prince
Charles) wherfore desyre her in my Name to haste them
away with all speede : comend me to W: (Titus) & tell
him that I have receaued all what he left behinde for
me, hauing at this tyme no more to say to him, nor to you,
but that I am

Your asseured frend

J:

Comend me to T: (Burroughs) and thank him for
his Newes, desyring him still to continue
to write to me

B.M. f. 44.

No. 41.

No. 7.

Aug. 17, 1648.

(MRS. WHORWOOD TO FIREBRACE.)

My ffriend

I return you many thanks for your late convey of my
letters ; pray recontinue that favour in the dispatch^{es} of
these. I wonder the Kings condescension to treat is not
made publique, since when nothing of moment here.

The Messenger is in such haste for my letters as I can not enlarge : only be confident that your civilityes shall find a faithfull Remembrancer in

Your reall ffriend

Aug. 17th

J. W.

Remember my loue to all my ffriends as if particularly named.

Note.—Mrs. Whorwood was at Newport at this time.

B.M. f. 45.

No. 42.

No. 9.

for D:/

Tuesday 22: Aug: 1648.

D:/ Since I wrote last, w^{ch} was upon Munday was sennight, I have receaued two voluminous dispatches, from you, with all their Appendixes ; the one of the 14: the other of the 17: of this Month ; w^{ch} gaue me so much worke bothe to decipher and Answer, that hath made me thus slow in dispatching, & yet to dyuers of my frends, you must make my excuse for not writing at this tyme : as to A: L: & H:. (Cressett: Osborne & Mrs Wheeler) thanking them for, & desyreing still to continue, theire aduertisments to me ; & particularly desyre H: to hasten hither ; thanking her for the botes¹ she sent me, but such is the rigidness of the Governour, that as yet no use can be made of them:

Euen now, as I was ending this Dispatch, yours of Saterday last came to my hands ; but there is so much in Cypher from K: (Lady Aubigny) that I doe not thinke fitt to stay this Packet upon the decyphering of them, because it will cost more then a dayes worke, besides it is possible that what I write now, may fully Answer it ; if not, be confident of an other dispatch from me verry shortly : thanke A: & T: (Cressett & Burroughs) for there Newes, & bid them be confident that the King, in Nomination of his Attendants, (I know his disposition so well) will not forget one of those who were discharged for his sake ; and that he will not Name any of those who are now aboute him, so I rest

Your assured friend

J:

¹ Boots.

B.M. f. 46.

No. 43.

No. 10.

for D:/

Tuesday 29. Aug:

D: I receaued upon Saturday last three dispatches from you to witt of the 23: 24: & 25: of this Month ; to all w^{ch} it is not possible for me to answer particularly, at this tyme, wherfor I desyre you to excuse me to all those to whom I haue not now written ; thanking them for theire intelligence, desyring them to continue it : You being one of the Kings list I suppose you will repaire hither, wherfor I desyre you that before you come away, you leaue such order behinde you, as I may not loose my intelligence : desyre E: (Lady Carlisle) from me that speedely & carefully she send away those two letters I haue sent her for M: & G: (The Queen & Prince Charles) So I rest

Your asseured frend

J:

I know not who R: is, not hauing that letter in my list.

Note.—The letter R may be intended for P which in Firebrace's first list (No. 48) is the code letter for Lord Newburgh.

B.M. f. 47.

No. 44.

No. 11.

(Written from Hurst Castle.)

Tuesday 5. Decem: 1648.

D:/ This is, lyke poore Mens giftes to greate Persons, to gaine by giuing ; for the litle or no Newes I send you, to haue a greate deale from you &, for this one letter, to haue many : to w^{ch} end, I pray you comend me to A: E: K: N: T: & W: (Cressett, Lady Carlisle, Lady Aubigny, Mrs. Whorwood, Burroughs, & Titus) telling them that this trusty Bearer H: (Mrs. Wheeler) will show them the way how they may write to me :. ffor Newes, we haue not yet hard one word eater (either) from the Army, or Westminster ; & hitherto the King is Ciuily used :. So I rest

Your asseured ffrend

J:

Excuse me to all my abovenamed friends, for hauing written to none of them at this tyme ; this being only to recetle (resettle) my Intelligence with them
 Asseure F: (Dowcett) that I cannot forgett him.

B.M. f. 48.

No. 45.

No. 12.

(Written from Hurst Castle.)

for D:/

Sonday 17: Decem: 1648.

D:/ yours of the 13: instant I receaued yesterday, by w^{ch} I perceaued, to my great satisfaction, that my last is come safe unto you ; you having giuen me a good account of those few Directions, w^{ch} I therin gaue you, for w^{ch} I thanke you, as also for the store of Newes you sent me: desyring you, to continue the same as oft as you can gett any oportunity ; (though from this place I cannot recompence you with any, worth the blotting of so much Paper) in w^{ch} you will verrey much oblige

Your assured frend

J:

I have not yet receaued that letter from N: (Mrs. Whorwood) w^{ch} you say was sent on Saturday the 9. of this Month : howeuer not to be behinde hand with her in Ciuility, deliver her this inclosed from me : & put her in mynd to answer it :

B.M. f. 49.

No. 46.

No. 13.

(Written from Windsor Castle.)

for D:/

Wedensday 27. Decem: 1648.

D:/ yesterday I receaued yours of the 20: and 23: of this Month with two letters from N: (Mrs. Whorwood) (to w^{ch}, this inclosed is an Answer) & some Pamflets ; in answer to all w^{ch}, I can only thanke you desyring the continuance of your correspondencie : for newes I refer you to N: to whom I haue written all I know:.

Since I saw you, I have not had one scrape of a Penn

from E: (Lady Carlisle) for w^{ch} I desyre to know a reason ;
 howeuer comēd me to her, & all the rest of my ffrends:
 So I rest

Your asseured frend,

J:

B.M. f. 50.

No. 47.

(? Dec. 25, 1648.)

(LADY NEWBURGH TO FIREBRACE.)

Mr. firebrasse

I must desire you to deferre your messenger till ye evening, or fower a cloke to morrow morning w^{ch} shall be the lates(t) hower of my dispatch, the busines and weather agrees not to make it an unreasonable requeist but howeuer I will not limit your occasions, if you cannot without periudice contribute to this desire of

Your friend ready to doe
 you any service

K. Aubigny

Munday afternoone

B.M. f. 51.

No. 48.

Hee that trusts me wth the inclosed ; tells mee the first name in the superscription is fictitious the second reall. I send the letter by this expresse: The writer of the inclosed desires as many of the choyce new Pamphlets & Mercuries as you think fitt to send. If you haue any letters to him, you are to superscribe thus for 100. On the outward case you need write nothing ; it is enough that the bearer brings what you return to him that send him.

Your most affectionate seruant as agreeing in that Magno tertio though as unknown to you as you to mee.

Note : This letter is on a double sheet of paper, and would appear to have been written from Windsor Castle by Herbert's servant (see p. 186). The King's letters were enclosed in it, and were secured by black thread or silk, the ends of which protrude from beneath two seals placed on the back of the sheet.

On the right of the seals is a rough memorandum written by Firebrace of the code letters of the King's correspondents :

A : Cr: (Cressett)	K : La: Ob: (Lady Aubigny)
B : Ma: (Mary)	L : Os: (Osburne)
C : Le: (Col. Legge)	M : Q: (The Queen)
D : F: (Firebrace)	N : Har: (Mrs. Whorwood)
E : Ca: (Lady Carlisle)	O : Low: (Mr. Low)
F : Do: (Dowcett)	P : Ne: (Lord Newburgh)
G : Pr: (Prince Charles)	S : Du: (Duke of York)
H : Wh: (Mrs. Wheeler)	T : Bo: (Burroughs)
J : K: (The King)	W : Ti: (Col. Titus)
	Z : Wo: (Worsley)

B.M. f. 54.

No. 49.

Barwick No. 10.

The Names of severall persons knowne to King Charles the First of blessed memory, by the Letters of the Alphabet here after mentioned, who were serviceable to his Matie in the tymes of his most strickt ymprisonmt by the Rebels in A^o 1648.

Proved faulty 3

A — Mr. Francis Cressett

B — Mrs. Mary assistant to the
Lady Wheeler his Mat^y Mistress Laundresse.

C — Collonell Willm Legg Groom of the
Bedcham(ber).

D — Henry Firebrace.

E — 3 Lady Carlisle.

F — Mr. Abraham Dowcett.

G — Prince Charles now our Sovereigne

H — the Lady Wheeler

J — the King.

K — the Lady Obigny

L — Mr Richard Osburne

M — the Queene

N — Mrs Whorwood, wife of Broome Whorwood.

O — 3 Mr. Low a Merchant in London.

S — His Royal Highness the Duke.

T — Mr John Burrowes.

W — 3 Captaine Titus.

Z — Mr Edw. Worsley, now S^r Edw. in the
Isle of Wight.

Note.—This list appears to have been written by Firebrace at some later date. It is in an old-fashioned hand, probably

that used in some of his correspondence with the King (see No. 15 : "Yours in your ordinarie hand much troubled me"). Lady Carlisle, Mr. Low and Captain Titus are marked 3 "proved faulty." The first two certainly betrayed the King to the Derby House Committee, but there is no evidence to show that Titus did so.

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APPENDIX D
THE TITUS LETTERS

BRITISH MUSEUM, *EGERTON MSS.* 1533

THE Collection of King Charles's letters to Colonel Titus are fifteen in number and are preserved in a volume bound in red leather and bearing on the cover the Titus arms.

On the first pages are the following :

Memorandum

The accompanying Letters of King Charles 1st and 2nd and other eminent persons, came into the possession of my Grandmother (Catherine Shorte) who was a descendant of Colonel Silius Titus, one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, and a confidential friend of their Majesties.

The house belonging to and inhabited by Colonel Titus in the village of Bushey in Hertfordshire was inherited by my Grandmother as part of her fortune, and in which house she and my Grandfather the Rev. Dr. James Ibbetson who was the Rector of Bushey, subsequently resided.

D. IBBETSON

5 *Trafalgar Square*,
BROMPTON.

21st August 1850.

Purchased of Messrs. Boone 8 Nov. 1851.

(In sale at Sotheby's & Co. 5 Aug. 1851, Lot 160)

Bookplate of James Ibbetson, D.D.

As regards paper and handwriting, the letters are in every respect similar to those addressed to Firebrace, and have been folded in the same way, so that they might be placed in the chink in the bedchamber. The first nine bear no date, but it is evident that the corre-

spondence began only after Titus was removed from his post as "Conservator," for until then he had unrestricted access to the King. This was probably after Hammond received the letter from Cromwell dated Ap. 6. There is no attempt at a chronological sequence in the letters as placed in the *Egerton MSS.* At some later date they have been endorsed with numbers which run from 1 to 30. It would appear, therefore, that fifteen have been lost. These numbers, however, are of no value, as even the dated letters are not in their proper order. An attempt is here made to place the nine letters approximately in their right order, based partly on their contents and partly on the letters to Firebrace. The evidence is given in notes at the end of each.

All the fifteen letters are printed in Hillier's *Charles I in the Isle of Wight*. In the original letter (No. 11), the code is partly deciphered over the numerals, perhaps by Titus himself. From the clues thus given, Hillier probably made out the remainder.

The consecutive numbers are given in the centre, on the left the Museum number and folio, below it Hillier's number and pagination, on the right the endorsement by the later hand.

Nos. 1, 2, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 15 also bear endorsements by the King himself.

B.M. Nos. 7 f. 9.

Hillier No. 7, p. 149.

No. 1. K.C. 1st to Titus about
the window barr,
1648. No. 2.

(April 9, 1648.)

ffor W: /

W: since your stay is so short heere, you must excuse me though I importune you with papers hauing litle to say: Amongst other particulars, I pray you thinke w^{ch} way I shall remoue the Bar out of my Window, without noise and unperceaued; and what tyme it will take me to doe it:

I am glad that you will acquaint F: (Dowcett) with particulars for since D: (Firebrace) must depart I think it absolutly necessary: but I doe not desyre that A.

or O. (Cresset or Low) should any more medle in it : though I believe they meane well ; yet, let us not loose theire correspondence:. If you hit in this new way, consider if the tyme of Night would not be alterd ; for I believe you will now fynde, that I must first goe to Bed, before I offer to goe away : but I refer it to your judgement:
J:

Trye what you may doe to stay till Monday ; & forgett not to giue me an account of your meeting as soone as you can:.

Note.—For the evidence of date see Introduction to the Firebrace letters, Appendix C, p. 269.

B.M. No. 10 f. 12.
Hillier No. 10, p. 152.

No. 2.

K.C. 1. about ye
Window barr 1648
No. 3.

(April 10, 1648.)

for W: /

W: This being a Business of Action & not of words, I will be verrie brife ; & I were much too blame, if I were otherwais ; for really (to my judgement) it is so well layed, that I haue but one particular to make a Quere upon (after thryce reading over your Paper) w^{ch} is, whether I shall haue tyme anufe, after I haue Supt & before I goe to Bed, to remoue the Bar ; for if I had a forecer, I would make no question of it ; but hauing nothing by fyles ; I much dout that my tyme will be too scant ; wherefore I desyre to be well instructed in it ; w^{ch} being ajusted, I know nothing to be mended in your Paper:

But you know, there must be Terminus ad quem, as well, as Terminus a quo ; therefore I desyre to know, whether you intend that I should goe, after I am ouer the Water ?

J:

I desyre you to Answer this Paper as soon as you can: Hencefoorth I will goe early to Bed:

Note.—For evidence of date, see Introduction to the Firebrace Letters, Appendix C.

B.M. No. 8. f. 10.

No. 3.

Hillier No. 8, p. 150.

K.C. 1 relating to
cutting the window
bar in Carisbrook
Castle in order to
escape. 1648, No. 4.

(April 11, 1648.)

W:/ I haue beene considering the Bar of my Window, & fynde, that I must cut it in two places ; for that place, where I must cut it aboue, I can hyde it with the leade that tyes the Glasse ; but, there is nothing that can hyde the lower part ; wherfor, I conceaue it cannot, but be discovered ; if I leaue it off, when I haue once begune it : & how to make but one labour of it, hauing no other instruments, but such as I sent you, I cannot, yet, conceaue : but if I had a forcer ; I could make my way, well anufe ; or if you could teache me, how to make the fyre-shouell & tongues, supply that place ; w^{ch}, I belieue not impossible:

Of this (I meane, how to remoue the Bar) I desyre to be resolued before you goe ; wherfor I pray you giue me an answer, to this as soone as you can ; for I belieue our maine Business depends much upon it.

J:

I pray you 577 : 359 : 117 : 343 : 279 : 20 : 356 : [to be sure of a ship].

Note.—For evidence of date see Introduction to the Firebrace letters, Appendix C.

B.M. No. 9. f. 11.

No. 4.

Hillier No. 9, p. 151.

K.C. 1st about the
Window Barr 1648
to Capt. Titus No. 5.

(April 12, 1648.)

W:/ The difficultie of remouing the Bar, hath made my thoughts runne much upon the later Designe : it is this : since for my goeing out at Window, it is necessary that an Officer, or two, should be gained ; will not they, as willingly, & may they not, more easily, helpe me out at the Dore? And truly in my judgement there can be nothing of lesse hazard then this last Desygne, if any one Officer can be ingaged in it ; for then, any Diguyse

will make me passe safly through all the Guards : wherefore I pray you thinke well upon it, for I am most confident that I am in the right ; yet, for Gods sake make your objections freely to what I haue said ; or, if you do not understand me, tell me in what, & I hope, that I shall satisfie you : howeuer, I pray you lett me haue your Opinion of this, as soone as soone you may, whether it be Pro, or Con : if this Desygne be resolu'd on, we need not stay for Darke Nights:.

J:

I am extreemly wel satisfied with the later part of your Paper:.

Note.—Written on same date as F. 6. See Introduction to the Firebrace letters, Appendix C.

B.M. No. 4 f. 6.

Hillier No. 5, p. 145.

No. 5. K.C. 1st about ye

Window barr to Capt.

Titus, 1648 No. 22.

(*April 13, 1648.*) No. 1 (with 4 enclosures
No. 2 to No. 5.)

W:/ I will send you my cheefe instrument by D: (Firebrace), and I desyre you to make good tryals and giue me good instructions, for I know not how fying can be, without much noise, & tyme : but if you can cleare this doute, I absolutly conceaue this to be the best way ; yet D:^s new way, is not to be rejected ; & may be tryed (as I suppose) without much danger, that is to say : make this fellow of the Backstaires try how he can conduct his frends in & out at that tyme of Night, without strict examination of the Gards : in a word : you that walke abroad freely, can much better judge, of the fisibilitie of this, then I : wherefore, seriously, I remitt myselfe to your judgement herein ; only with this opinion ; that the easie or difficult remouing of the barr will cast the scales, in my judgement, betwixt the two wayse.

Now concerning the place Whether ? I know you say true, that many of my frends thinke London the fittest place, & particularly A: (Cressett), and O: (Low), but I am clearely of your mynde ; wherefore I earnestly, & particularly, recomend the prouyding of a Ship, to your Care ; for really, (upon the joynt letter you sent me from

London) I haue discharged the corespondent, I tould you, that I had, beyond the Water:

If your Dismission stood upon me, it should not be in haste: but in earnest, it would be well, if you might stay till Monday or Teusday, for ajusting all things the better:

No CIPHER of myne hath miscaried, for I sent but one since I came hither, & that I am sure was receaued:

I have now no more to say, but I pray you haue more asseurance, then bare confidence, for hauing a Ship ready:.

J:

Note.—Written on the same date as F. 6.

B.M. No. 6, f. 8.
 Hillier No. 4,
 p. 138

No. 6.

K.C. 1st, No. 26.
 No date.

(About April 23, 1648.)

W:/ Since the cheefe Officer alwais sits at the Presence dore, you haue reason to differ with me in Opinion as you doe:

I pray you remember to leaue verry plaine & full instructions with L. (Osborne), and F. (Dowcett), & particularly how to keepe intelligence with our frends at London:.

J:

Note.—Osborne is here indicated by the code letter L. It was therefore written on the same date as or later than F. 10, which is dated approximately Ap. 21.

B.M. No. 5 f. 7.
 Hillier No. 6, p. 146.

No. 7.

K. Charles the First
 to Capt. Titus with-
 out date, No. 25.

(April 24, 1648.)

W:/ before I Answer yours I must desyre you to let me know to whom you have lent your Cypher, for if you have not, a Copie of it hath bine stolne from you, as by thease inclosed Notes you will fynde: Now to answer yours: in your owen order

As for 715: (Mrs. Whorwood) I believe you are not

H.H.

x

mistaken ; for I am confident she will not deceaue your trust: I thinke 457 (Lady Carlisle) wishes now well to me but I belieue she loves 546 : 493 ¹ aboue all things : for 714 : (Dr. Frazer) I hope he is honnest but I haue not had much experience of him : for L. (Osborne) I fully concur with you both for those things that are to be left, & how to comunicat business to him ; wherfor I will impart nothing of thease things to him, untill you send him to me about them, or that you be gone:. As for W. (Titus himself) I assueure you that I am most confident in his faithfullness, circumspection & diligence : you bid 715 be confident, that I am no wais disgusted with any thing that I heard concerning her : Be confident, if an underhand Traty be offerd me, I shall make no other use of it but such as my frends shall be glad on ; and cheefly to the end you mention ; As for Mr. Myldmays information concerning what I should say of my Childrens intertainment, my Answer is Cujus Contrarium verum est : & a Gods name say it in my Name : for the other, I am confident that no Sonday sine I came heere (except the last) I read on any such Booke as Argenis ² ; so that certainly the information, was then false:

Since D: (Firebrace) must be gone ; will it not be necessarie, that F: (Dowcett) be particularly acquainted with all things ? for I asseure you that I will comunicat it to none but those whom you thinke fitt: I haue now no more to say ; but I pray you ajust particulars as soone as you can ; & giue me an account of it, as soone as you may:. J:

Comend me hartely to 457 with as many other ciuilities or thanks, as you shall thinke fitt:

I pray you decypher this inclosed Note for I would not doe it though I begun it, because I thinke it a Rogery: I send you all that came with it :

Note.—See F. 15, 16, as to the “inclosed note.” The King seems to have sent it to Titus with F. 15 on Ap. 24.

¹ 546 is a word beginning with S, and may be Scots or Scotland, 493 is a “Null.”

² A political romance by John Barclay, written in Latin and published in Paris in 1621. It was translated into English by Ben Jonson in 1623, by Kingsmill Long, Gent., in 1625 and by Sir Robert Le Grys, Knight, in 1629.

B.M. No. 1, f. 2.
 Hillier No. 1,
 p. 108.

No. 8.

King Charles First to
 Capt. Titus No. 19.

(April 25.)

For Cap: Titus

Cap: Titus Let those Officers, you tould me of, know, that as my necessety is now greater then euer ; so what seruice shall be done me now, must haue the first place in my thoughts, when euer I shall be in a Condition to requite my Friends, & pittie my Eennemies: I comānd you (when you can doe it, without hazard either to yourself or them) that you send me, in particular, the names of those who you thus finde sensible of their duty, & resoluēd to discharge the parts of true Englishemen ; Lastly, asseure euery one, that, with me, present Seruices wipes out former falts ; So I rest

Your asseured friend,
 Charles R

Note.—This letter was evidently given to him just before he left on the 25th. It is written in the King's ordinary hand.

B.M. No. 3, f. 4.
 Hillier No. 3, p. 133.

No. 9. Apr: 26, 1648.
 King Charles to Capt.
 Titus, No. 18.

26 Ap: 1648.

W:/ I cannot be satisfied unless you doe trust to my Discretion as well as Honnesty ; wherfor I asseure you, that I neuer wrote any such thing as M^r Myldmay hath informed you of ; for there is an uter impossibility in Nature, that it could be in any of my Dispatches, but in that of the 17. of this Month, for it was but the day before, that I did so much as suspect that eather you or D: (Firebrace) should be dismist ; & since, noe letter of myne hath gone to London: Now for that Dispatch ; first, I must say, that it is ill lucke that my Wyfes letter should only miscary, for I haue had answers to all the others, w^{ch} wente by that Messenger ; but indeed it

might be betrayd at the Post house ; wherfor now, I must desyre you to believe (for this long tyme I durst keepe no Copies) my Memory : w^{ch} I hope, in so short a tyme, will not deceaue me ; nor would I (according to my owen ruels) be verry confident of a Negatiue, but that I can proue it by an Affirmatiue ; that is to say, I could not be verry sure that I wrote nothing concerning 251 : 686 [my escape], if I did not remember the subject of that letter, for it was concerning a business wherein my Wyfe desyred my Opinion ; nor will I say but there might be a clause in it, to this efect ; that, albeit there were two confidents of myne, discharged my service, yet I could still conuey Letters to her, but on my Credit, it was all in Cypher and I am sure I did not Name F. (Dowcett), nor made the least mention concerning any Desygne of ours: Now, you may judge (for upon my faith I have tould you the worst of my Case) whether it be not more lykely, that all this story, of my letter, is fained (to try your Countenances, & to make the fairer pretence, of dismissing you), then that they haue found any of your Names in my letter ; w^{ch} to doe, they must deCypher my letter : but, as they tell it, I will take my Oath, it is a lye : and so, I leaue this, and come to my Business ; w^{ch} is, only, to know, how soone you will, & where you intend, to, lay horses for me ; for though I cannot put you in any certaine hope that verry shortly I shall use them ; yet it were a pittie to loose an oportunity heere for want of preparation beyond the Water ; and we are hammering upon a way (as D: will mor particularly informe you) w^{ch} if it hit, we shall be sooner ready, then, it may be, you can imagen: I have now no more to say but to desyre you to let me heare from you as soone as you may, how you are satisfied with the first part of this letter, and how soone you can comply with the later: So I rest

Your most asseured constant frend,
J:

You had had this little inclosed before now, but you were gone before it could come to you ; it came to me from London amongst my letters:

B.M. No. 2, f. 3.

No. 10. K.C. 1st to Capt. Titus

Hillier No. 2, p. 121

No. 17.

(April 28, 1648.)

W:/ this trusty bearer¹ will ease my paynes by telling you why yett I haue not yet changed my lodging ; and also desyre your advyce concerning remouing of obstructions : so that this being but to giue you an occasion to wryte to me I need say no more, but that I am

Yours most reall friend,

J:

I pray you comend me verry hartely to 688.

B.M. No. 11, f. 13.

No. 11. King Charles First to

Hillier No. 11,

Capt. Titus from

p. 153.

Carisbrook Castle

No. 20.

for W:/

665 : 637 : 643 : 279 : 672 : [Sunday 14th of May]

W: yesterday I receaued fower letters from you, with a great number of others from diuers of my friends, as 634 : 169 : 251 : 680 : 636 : 169 : 457 : [one from my wife three from Lady Carlisle] as many from 715 : [Mrs. Whorwood] the lyke nomber both from A: and O: [Cressett and Low] besydes a great bundle from 714 : 108 : 708 : [Dr. Fraizer and Col. Legge], also fower from D: (Firebrace) and one from T: (Burroughs) this I giue you an account of because not hauing tyme now to write to any of thease my frends I desyre you make my excuse to them, & lett them know that I have receaued all theire letters : now as to your Answer; all that I have to say to yours of the first of this Month, is, that as I see that you are well satisfied with me, so I am with you ; for those two of the 12:th, that w^{ch} is out of Cypher, I know not what you meane by it ; but I thanke you for Aduice you giue me in the other ; 379 : 209 : 165 : 363 : 284 : 478 : (104 : 359 : 361 : 302 :) 263 : 117 : 106 : 78 : 91 : 318 : 67 : [though I finde that our design (as to this place) must be alltered]: Now as to that^e of the 9:th, my Answer is, that 158 : 251 : 60 : 108 : 216 : 302 : 420 :

¹ Firebrace, who carried the letter with him when he left.

263 : 20 : 7 : 10 : 212 : 78 : 210 : 230 : 411 : 420 :
 108 : Z : 263 : 79 : 144 : 250 : 404 : 209 : 349 : 80 :
 21 : 41 : 92 : 705 : [for my landing place you must
 apoint it, likewise You and Worsley must tell me where
 I shall take boate]. I can write no more concerning
 251 : 686 : [my escape] untill I haue consulted with L:
 (Osborne) : in the mean tyme I must tell you that now
 I can asseure you that no letter of myne hath miscarried,
 for I haue had an Answer of that from 251 : 680 : [my
 wife] w^{ch} I suspected ; there being no other in possibilitie
 of doeing harme:. 660 : 639 : 643 : [Tuesday sixteen] ¹
 before this Morning I could not speak with L: (Osborne),
 w^{ch} hath giuen me tyme to write thease two inclosed ;
 that superscribed in french, is to 251 : 680 : [my wife]
 the other to 715 : [Mrs. Whorwood] this last, I thought
 fitt to write to encourage and thanke 187 : [her], because
 I fynde that 63 : 14 : 91 : 90 : 194 : 437 : 143 : 420 :
 212 : 571 : 216 : 360 : 356 : [she hath assisted you in
 providinge the ship].

Now as for 284 : 184 : 453 : 200 : 209 : 479 : 420 :
 359 : 117 : 38 : 212 : 359 : 53 : 20 : 210 : 158 : 250 :
 281 : 659 : 274 : 108 : 335 : 112 : 151 : 46 : 275 :
 79 : 158 : 22 : 657 : 359 : 39 : 92 : 360 : 50 : 29 :
 117 : 131 : 634 : 275 : 80 : 253 : 164 : 108 : 102 :
 289 : 14 : 210 : 202 : 210 : 117 : 216 : 35 : 10 : 78 :
 15 : 608 : 337 : 108 : 483 : 11 : 382 : 359 : 340 :
 279 : 643 : 359 : 420 : [our great business, I desire you
 to begin to waite for me on Monday next and so after,
 every night for a weeke together, because one night may
 faill and accomplish it, and it being both troublesome and
 dangerous to send often to you] ; & for the 371 : 203 :
 420 : 263 : 226 : 363 : 210 : 211 : 251 : 96 : 16 : 103 :
 36 : 93 : 51 : 392 : 135 : 118 : 405 : 209 : 263 : 137 :
 340 : (360 : 289 : 117 : 216 : 335 : 54 : 23 : 97 : 16 :
 143 : 363 : 210 : 126 : 270 : 117 : 98 : 31 : 78 :)
 404 : 158 : 209 : 263 : 631 : 177 : 359 : 35 : 143 :
 335 : 363 : 251 : 371 : 279 : 128 : 216 : 169 : 251 :
 99 : 15 : 103 : 36 : 94 : 52 : 399 : 117 : 115 : 644 :
 105 : 275 : 78 : 200 : [time here, you must know that it
 is my chamber window by which I must descend, (the
 other being so wached) that it cannot be cut, wherfor I

¹ The letter is here continued on May 16.

must first go to bed so that my time of coming from my chamber may be about eleven at night] for the rest 420 : 401 : Z : 263 : 128 : 296 : 91 : 89 : 16 : 282 : 344 : 209 : 126 : 117 : 401 : 420 : [you with Worsley must compute how soone I can be with you]. This is as much as for the present I can say concerning 251 : 686 : [my escape], & I hope such as will giue you reasonable good satisfaction ; but I desyre you to send me speedie word, if any thing that I have writen be obscure, or not full, to what you desyre to know ; also 404 : 209 : 349 : 78 : 23 : 41 : 705 : 108 : 404 : 531 : 200 : 230 : 411 : 420 : 263 : 182 : 250 : 20 : 2 : 53 : 280 : 67 : 363 : 209 : 253 : 226 : 251 : 174 : 63 : 212 : 360 : 141 : 42 : 92 : [where I shall take boate and where lande, likewise you must give me a passe word that I may know my frends in the darke] And now I have no more to say, but what I cannot say according to my mynde, w^{ch} is to express my satisfaction, & thanks to you, for what you haue done for me in this Business ; only this, you shall fynde me really,
Your most asseured constant frend

J:

You must remember to 231 : 198 : 64 : 335 : 363 : 209 : 253 : 264 : 269 : 65 : 80 : 21 : 46 : 117 : 78 : 54 : 212 : 251 : 531 : 216 : 108 : 315 : 35 : 280 : 11 : 33 : 40 : 16 : 24 : [leave horses so that I may have no stay between my landing and Queenborough].

Note.—This letter was taken by Worsley to Titus at Southampton. See Letter to Worsley No. 1. Appendix F, p. 348.

B.M. No. 12, f. 14.

No. 12.

King Charles First
to Capt. Titus
No. 23.

Hillier No. 12, p. 157.

for W:

659 : 647 : 635 : 672 : [Monday twenty-two May].

W:/ yesterday & not before I receaued three of your letters, in Answer to w^{ch} first I assure you that 367 : 211 : 269 : 338 : 377 : 104 : 109 : 375 : 117 : 78 : 53 : 91 : 94 : 71 : 92 : 689 : 108 : 250 : 280 : 109 : 377 : 230 : 210 : 200 : 108 : 209 : 399 : 389 : 93 : 50 : 251 : 232 : (213 : 209 : 193 : 20 : 656) : 363 : 360 : 136 : 133 : 127 : 96 : 94 : 51 : 72 : 216 : 541 : 97 : 281 : 108 :

251 : 680 : 211 : 21 : 1 : 67 : 103 : 73 : 113 : 228 :
 91 : 158 : 106 : 187 : 532 : 63 : 359 : 250 : [there is
 no such thing as any tiff between him and me or anything
 like it, and I will offer my life (if I had a chance) that the
 discourse concerning Con and my wife is a damn lye, for
 all he says to me] ever since I came hither 397 : 218 :
 359 : 360 : 127 : 79 : 52 : 22 : 50 : 46 : 2 : 65 : 152 :
 201 : 108 : [was just to the contrary passe, and] I desyre
 you to assure all my frends in my name, that all this is
 punctually true, & in particular to 457 : [Lady Carlisle] ;
 & that if (as you haue said) 367 : 349 : 117 : 109 : 564 :
 254 : 91 : 250 : 118 : 360 : 512 : 298 : 209 : 399 :
 281 : 228 : 264 : 382 : 92 : 279 : 210 : 212 : 557 :
 359 : 251 : 686 : [there shall be any Treaty made me by
 the Parliament party I would only have use of it in order
 to my escape] ; also take notice in my name to 457 : 279 :
 360 : 181 : 599 : 546 : 493 : 140 : 250 : 212 : 360 :
 505 : [Lady Carlisle of the good service done me in the
 affair], & excuse me to 187 [her] that now I doe not
 write my selfe ; for indeed I haue no tyme.

As you have aduised 662 : 274 : 399 : 117 : 360 :
 631 : 275 : 80 : 363 : 209 : 349 : 430 : 359 : 686 : 90 :
 [Wednesday next may be the first night I shall endeavour
 to escape] ; but I desyre you (if it be possible) 117 : 158 :
 93 : 364 : 359 : 104 : 343 : 250 : 363 : 420 : 399 :
 117 : 50 : 143 : 67 : 47 : 118 : 363 : 275 : 78 : 108 :
 340 : 250 : 3 : 23 : 4 : 55 : 280 : 68 : [before then to
 asseure me that you will be reddy by that night, and send
 me a passe word] w^{ch} yet you haue not done : I haue now
 no more to say but that I hope you will remember 359 :
 557 : 377 : 63 : 335 : 363 : 209 : 349 : 264 : 269 :
 64 : 78 : 10 : 7 : 381 : 80 : 215 : 209 : 128 : 359 :
 360 : 356 : [to order things so that I shall need no stop
 until I go to the ship] So I rest

Your most asseured constant frend
 J:

I thought it necessary to wryte this to 715 : 363 : 209 :
 63 : 78 : 20 : 46 : 270 : 158 : 360 : 356 : [Mrs. Whor-
 wood, that I stay not for the ship], therefor pray you
 send it speedily to 187 [her].

317

No date, No. 30.

for W:/

662 : 647 : 638 : 672 : [Wednesday twenty-four May]

W:/ Yours of yesterdayes Date I have receaved this
afternoone, w^{ch}, though short, gaue me much satisfac-
tion : & to w^{ch} my Answer is that 118 : 360 : 185 : 279 :
176 : 209 : 349 : 376 : 359 : 686 : 383 : 281 : 665
275 : 78 : 274 : 200 : [by the help of fate I shall try to
escape upon Sunday night next] the cause why 391 :
132 : 270 : 135 : 91 : 210 : 361 : 275 : 79 : 211 : 117 :
131 : 360 : 133 : 279 : 360 : 38 : 31 : 107 : 67 : 63 :
107 : 106 : 80 : 92 : 50 : 67 : 158 : 284 : 255 : 193 :
210 : 427 : 335 : 363 : 367 : 78 : 32 : 51 : 71 : 93 : 128 :
65 : 116 : 281 : 665 : 275 : 79 : 274 : 201 : 271 : 359 :
360 : 149 : 363 : 715 : 253 : 53 : 20 : 210 : 158 :
250 : 401 : 104 : 257 : [we could not doe it this night is,
because the course of the guards are altered, for our men
have it settled, so that their turn comes but on Sunday
night next ; and to the end that Mrs. Whorwood may
wait for me with as much] patience, 104 : 209 : 226 :
420 : 399 : 209 : 379 : 80 : 210 : 159 : 359 : 413 :
[as I know you would, I thought it fit to write] this
enclosed, w^{ch} I pray you send speedely to 187 : 202 [her
hand] So I rest

Your most assured constant friend,

I desyre for my satisfaction and incouragement, that you will send me word that you haue receaued this as soone as you can:

Capt. Titus, 1 July
1648, No. 21.

Saterdag, 1 July 1648

W: I have newly receaved yours of the 22 June, for
w^{ch} I know not whether my astonishment or my joy were
the greater ; for, indeed, I did dispaire of hearing any
more from you, or any other of my ffrends, during thease
damnable tymes, without blaming anything but my owen

misfortune; w^{ch} makes me the more obliged to your kyndness, & industry for hauing found meanes to conuey a letter to me:. I thank you for your Newes, w^{ch} does much agree with what the Gouvernor doth us the fauore to let us know, only we heere doe belue all the Gallant honnest Men in Colchester infallibly lost, though yet they hould out; & we haue heard nothing concerning the Votes of the Comon Councell:. I am glad to hear of the welfaire of Z: & L: (Worsley and Osborne) for I feared that they had been in some disorder, to whom I pray you comēd me hartely; as lykewise to all the rest of my ffrends; and particuly to 715 [Mrs. Whorwood], telling 187 [her] that I hope 24: 63: 186: [she] knowes, before this, how it was not my falt that I did not waite upon 187 [her] according to my promis; for which you may assure 715 that I was, & am, verry much greeved:. Tuching the writings for O. Rogers, I know not what you meane; and though I did, at this time, I would not send you them, being not confident that this will come safe to you; but how soone I can haue any probable assurance of a safe conueiance, I shall not faile to send you what Papers you shall desyre, as also letters to dyuers of my frends: and so I rest

Your most assured reall frend,

J:

117: 465: 71: 78: 363: 209: 349: 72: 91: 31:
92: 50: 136: 96: 10: 32: 93: 51: 109: 377: 359:
292: 84: 33: 136: 94: 109: 279: 251: 174: 66:
44: 369: [be content that I shall neuer discover any
thing to prejudise any of my friends' trust]

B.M. No. 15, f. 17.
Hillier No. 14, p. 209.

No. 15.

K.C. 1st to Capt.
Titus, No. 24.
July 10, 1648.

for yourselfe

Monday 10 July 1648.

W:/ Yours of the 5:th of this Month I receaued upon Saterday last, being glad to know where to fynde you; & will answer your Newes (for w^{ch} I thanke you), with Newes least our doings heere should be misreported to you: I haue been tould by such as I know will not

deceau me, that, of late, this Gouvernor thought, with cunning, to have screwed out an examination from the King, concerning his pretended escape ; for by way of freedome showing him a letter of Mr. Osburnes tuching that business, the sayd Gouvernor desyred to know of the King, if he had heard Major Rolph say any such thing, whereof Osburne accused him : but all the Answer that the king would giue him, was : if he knew nothing, he could tell him nothing ; or though he knew any thing, yet he would tell him nothing : because his Maxime is, neuer to cleare one Man, to the prejudice of an other ; or of his owen seruice : & be confident, this is all, in substance, that the Gouvernor could gett from the King, concerning this business : but upon occasion of Discourse before some Ladies, I heard the King say, that the Gouvernor, never offerd any Personall inciuiltie to him, (hoping they belied, that he would neuer endure it, so long as his hands were free) nor did he euer suspect hurt from him by way of Trechery : assuring you this, in substance, is all, that the King spoke for the Gouvernors justification : And now, I have no more to say, but to recomend to your Care, the delivery of thease two inclosed letters ; and to send Newes as often as you can to

Your most assured reall frend,

J:

209 : 263 : 563 : 228 : 226 : 360 : 468 : 279 : 493 :
 509 : 63 : 429 : 117 : 158 : 209 : 126 : 179 : 189 :
 109 : 463 : [I must certainly know the contents of
 Rogers's Papers before I can get him any answer].

Since the writing of this, I have receaued yours of the 3: of this Month, whereby I finde that you have written me two letters w^{ch} I have not receaued.

One of these is to 457 : [Lady Carlisle], & the other to 715 : [Mrs. Whorwood].

APPENDIX E

THE HOPKINS LETTERS

THE 62 letters written by the King to Sir William Hopkins, the Master of Newport Grammar School, between July 2 and December 8, 1648, together with one letter from him to the Prince of Wales and one to Hopkins signed "Hellen," are printed in an Appendix to the 1711 edition of the Rev. Thomas Wagstaffe's *Vindication of King Charles the Martyr*. In an Introduction he states : "That to the Prince, late King Charles the Second, was communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Hawes, living near St. James's, Westminster, all the rest by Mr. Horatio Hopkins, a Gentleman now living at Coventry, to some of whose Ancestors they were written by the King himself." There appears to be no record of the present whereabouts of the original manuscripts.

In the King's letters to Hopkins some names of persons and a few other words are designated only by code numbers, two fictitious names are also introduced. Three of the code numbers are interpreted by the King himself, others may be inferred from the contents of the letters. They are :

- 39. The King.
- 40. The Queen.
- 41. The Prince of Wales.
- 42. Mentioned once in No. 55. His identity is unknown.
- 45. One of the King's correspondents, mentioned only once in No. 11.
- 47. Mistress Hopkins.
- 48. Sir William Hopkins.
- 49. George Hopkins, son of the above.
- 50. Col. Hammond.
- 51. Earl of Marlborough.

52. Probably Nicholas Oudart.

53. Mentioned only once in No. 15, there is no clue to the person meant.

54. The Isle of Wight.

57. Mentioned once in No. 28. Wagstaffe suggests Mistress Wheeler but the context shows that he was a man. He appears to be a resident in Newport.

58. Stated in No. 13 to be 41's brother, i.e. the Duke of York. It might however be his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange.

60. Troops.

64. Treaty.

David Griffin. Henry Firebrace.

H. Seymer. Probably Titus.

N. Jane Whorwood.

The letter of October 3 to the Prince of Wales contains some lines in cipher, the key to which has not been found.

The letter signed "Hellen" was written by Mrs. Whorwood to Hopkins for the information of the King. (See pp. 131, 151.)

No. 1.

Wednesday, July 12, 1648.

I have this morning received the two Letters you sent me, with the Note of seven Names, with their Cyphers ; of which I shall make use as you have directed me : I like very well that you should tell those Parties, who you think cannot keep Counsel, that their way is obstructed. Hoping to see you this day, (or to morrow at farthest) I will not now trouble you with divers Queries I have to make to you ; only I desire you hereafter to subscribe 48 ; so, consequently when you see any of my Letters superscribed with the same Number, you may know it is to your self : Now I may be deceived, all this time, who it is, to whom I write ; and because I desire not to hazard your Name, in a piece of Paper, I mean that Party who, on *Monday* night last, told me in general of that design, which you mention in the close of your Paper, which I find cut off at the bottom : What I have more to say, I refer until our meeting, which I desire may be soon.

No. 2.

Friday, July 14, 1648.

Your two Notes of yesterdays date, came this morning to my hands ; whereby I am cleared of some of my former Doubts, but I also find, that you think me more knowing in some particulars, than indeed I am ; for, seriously, I know nothing of the Design you mention, but only what 47 told me on *Monday* last, which was only in the general ; wherefore, I can give no opinion concerning the feasibility of it, nor assist you by my advice, how to perform it ; unless I knew the particulars : All I can say for the present is, First, if it come to acting (how ignorant soever I be) be confident, that (by the Grace of God) I shall do my part, and will let slip no opportunity ; then, I do well approve of *Marlborough* to be a chief Conductor, as for matter of Action, for I am confident of his Courage and Honesty ; so, if the business be well laid, he may do as well as any other : In the last place, I desire you to consider, as well, of the *terminus ad quem*, to prepare for it, as I believe you have done, for the *terminus a quo* ; desiring I may be acquainted with the Particulars of both ; and then (and not till then) my Advice may be stedible unto you in this business : In the mean time, whatsoever assurance you would have me give to 49, (or himself would desire, for his encouragement) he shall have it ; this is all (until by answering this, you give me more subject, which I desire may be with all speed) at this time from your most assured Friend ;

39.

Hereafter know *Marborough* by 51. I have chosen the Number 39, because you know who is 40.

No. 3.

Sunday-morning, 16 July, 1648.

Yours of the 14, which I received Yesternight late, hath reasonably well enabled me to give you my Advice, which is, That unless you secure 50. the Seizing of all the rest of the Horse, will not (in my Opinion) do the Work ; because he will sooner get Help to recover his Loss, than you be able to force 39. out of his hands : Wherefore I advise, either to do both together, (which certainly is

best, so that ye have a probable Certainty to be absolute Masters of this Island, and particularly of this Castle) or else, first to secure 50. by which means you may (as I believe) relieve 39. For, if the Business be dexterously handled, 50. may be made, for his own Safety, to suffer 39. to go to any Place that you will name, in this Island ; but then there must be a Bark ready, (and one will do it as well as a thousand) that will follow 39's Directions. And thus, by either of these two Ways, my *Terminus ad quem* will be satisfied, as well as the *a quo*. Now, if my Brevity make me Obscure, or you find Difficulty in what I propose, I desire you to make your Queries, or Objections, freely to me : However, I pray you, let me know what you resolve on ; and remember that Delays are dangerous. I shall send you Letters for 41 and 51 before to Morrow at Noon, according to 47's Desire, whom I hop'd to have seen before going to *London*, and desire to do, so it may be without Prejudice, not mine, for I can receive none, by my Friend's Favour, but they may ; I cannot end without desiring you, not to judge, either of my Civility or Thankfulness, by my Writings ; but, be confident that my Actions shall prove me to be both.

39.

I shall be in pain, until I be sure that you have received this Letter, therefore I desire you to return me a speedy Answer ; tho' it be only, that ye have received it ; referring the rest until a farther time.

No. 4.

Sunday, 16 July, 1648.

I send herewith the two Letters I promis'd you this Morning ; that to 41, is in that Cypher, which I have with 40. Now, because I am not certain, whether or not, he have a Copy of it, I desire 47, to trust *H. Seymer* with my Desire concerning a Ship ; and having no Cypher at all with 51. I have referr'd all Particulars to the Bearer, even unto my Name ; all which I hope that 47. will do me the Favour to supply, with Conjuraton of Secrecy to each Party. For the present, I have no more to say, but that I expect to hear from you to Morrow.

39.

*No. 5.**Monday, 17 July, 1648.*

This is only to tell you, that I have receiv'd this Morning your Yesterday's letter, with the Pamphlets, being extream glad that you understand and approve of my Answer ; I will say no more now, because I am going to write to some of my Friends in *London*, which I will send to you as soon as I have written them.

39.

*No. 6.**Monday-night, 17 July, 1648.*

This inclosed is for 40, which I hope you will send away with all speed ; I thought also to have sent you another Dispatch for some of my Friends in *London*, but being now too late, I cannot send it to you, until to Morrow in the Afternoon. I have desired my Friend to tell, that I was mistaken all this time in the Figure 47, for I meant one, and you another Party by it ; wherefore hereafter let my Meaning stand good, and let 52 signify him whom you meant. And now I speak to 47, I desire you to tell me the reason why you went away so abruptly this Night, as to give me no time to bid you farewell : I know you are too civil to be so discourteous to your Friends ; and I hope it is not the Cause that I suspect : For the Governour denies to have sent you any Message. However, indeed you shall do me a Favour, to write me the true Cause of it ; for I shall be in pain until you resolve me, because I should be sorry to be the Occasion of the least Inconvenience to you. So God send you a good journey.

39.

*No. 7.**Tuesday, 18 July, 1648.*

This is the Packet of which I told you Yesterday and this Morning, desiring you to send it as soon as you may to *London*, according to the Superscription ; for though, to deal truly with you, the first Name is fictitious, yet the rest is real, and will certainly find out my true Correspondent : I pray you let me know how soon it goes away. You need not stick for matter of Bulk, by this way of

Conveyance ; wherefore you shall do me a Kindness, to send me all the Pamphlets of News that you can get.

39.

No. 8.

Wednesday, 19 July, 1648.

I am now well satisfied concerning the sudden Departure of 47, who I see hath more Civility, than 50 Honest-dealing ; but I must not so much wrong my own Judgment, as to wonder at these Peoples Equivocations. As for my *London-Dispatch*, which I sent you Yesternight, I desire you to send it away by an Express ; if you can find no other fit, present, Messenger. I have yet pretty store of Wafers ; and when I want, I shall take the freedom to send to you for some ; when you find me Seal with Wax, you may know it is after Supper. I pray you commend me to 47, and tell her, I am sure that 40 would not be displeased at, much less forbid her private Conferences with me ; and that, (if she will not forbid me) I will try if I can make her Servant procure me freedom of Conference, hoping to do it with so much Discretion, that albeit I shall miss of my End, it shall not prejudice her. I desire to know when my *London-Dispatch* goes away, which I pray you hasten.

39.

No. 9.

Wednesday, 19 July.

I am glad to find by yours of this Date, that you rightly understand me, and approve of my Opinion ; and thank you for the Care you have taken in sending away my *London-Dispatch* ; which will make me put you to the same Trouble, before the end of this Week ; for this Day I have received a Packet from *London* ; and because the Woman, who gives all the Dispatches to me, and receives all from me (with whom I speak but very rarely, and that by great chance) can neither write nor read ; I gave her command, the last time I saw her, (which was about five Days ago) to give all my Letters to you ; thinking you will rather be at the trouble of sending all my Packets to *London*, than to hazard the misconveying of one Letter.

You do well to hearten these few Castle-Men, who have some mind to be honest ; as likewise not to impart your Counsels to them. He, who makes Excuses for other Men's Faults, will need but few Pardons, and I doubt not, but your Loss will be sooner repaired, than there will be need to use it.

39.

I told not the Woman your Name, but upon the receipt of one of your Letters, bad her send all mine to him, from whom she had that last.

No. 10.

48.

Friday, 21 July, 1648.

To save a double Labour, I deferr'd the answering yours of *Wednesday* last, (which I received Yesternight after Supper) until now, that I had ended my *London-Dispatch*, which I desire you to send away with all convenient speed, and let me know when it is gone : I thank you for the News you sent me in your inclosed Note, confessing to you, that it is not altogether strange to me ; hoping, that if such a Guest should come, you would use him kindly : But of this you know, now, almost as much as I ; for the freshest Letter I have had from 40 was of above 6 Weeks Date. Commend me to 47, and tell her, that 50 fell flat on his Back, walking by me upon *Wednesday* last ; which I say was a Punishment for his Incivility to her, and Equivocating to me. At this time I have no more to say, but heartily to thank you for your chearful Compliance with my Desires.

39.

No. 11.

48.

Sunday-morning, 23 July.

Yours of Yesterday morning I received Yesternight immediately before Supper ; for which I heartily thank you, not only for your careful and diligent sending away those Dispatches you have received from me ; but also for providing a continued way of Intercourse betwixt my *London* Friends and me ; wherein, since 49 gives you so good Assistance, (as likewise in the other great Business) it is great reason that I give him such Encouragement as

you advise : Wherefore I have thought fit to write to him this inclosed, which is only Thanks in General, referring Particulars to you ; for the Expressions, I leave to you ; only let them be hearty and kind, generals, suitable to the humour and quality of the Man, remembering to interpret his, yours, and my Cyphers to him. I shall not trouble you with any more Dispatches to my Friends, until I hear from them ; and I wonder that I have had no Return of my Dispatch I made to 45, which was dated the 6th of this Month ; I know it went safe from hence, for 47 told me so herself. As to the main Business, I will only ask you, Do you not mean (when your Preparations are made) as well to seek an Opportunity, by laying a Train for 50, as to lay hold of one, when he gives it you ? Then, how you go in your Preparations ? I thank you for the printed News desiring you still to continue the sending of such.

39.

No. 12.

48.

Wednesday, 26 July, 1648.

I have received two from you, since I wrote any to you ; the former requiring no Answer, I expected for the coming of this last, (which I received this Morning) but I find it of such Weight, that I must sleep upon it, before I can give you a determinate Resolution concerning it ; all which for the present I can say, is, That there is no Fear for the Security of my Person, during the Attempt ; leave it to me, I will undertake that. But the Question is, first, If probably you can Master this Place ? Then, How long you can make good the Island ? I am now going to read some Papers, which I received this Morning from *London* : So that, before, or by *Friday* at night, I will send you both my Resolution concerning this Business ; as also a Packet for some of my Friends beyond the Water.

39.

I thought fit herewith to send you an addition of some Figures, with Names.

No. 13.

48.

Thursday, 27 July, 1648.

I am glad to understand that 52 is returned ; and the truth is, that my Friends Opinions, and my Thoughts, do

very much agree, as to the Greater Design ; to remedy which, I know no other way, but for me to write a Letter of Credit to 41's Brother, with a trusty Messenger, that *viva voce* may propound the Business to him ; which I am confident he will chearfully undertake : As for 41 himself, he is otherways employed, and must not be sent to ; but his Brother I believe expects some such Call as this, and I suppose that 52 is the fittest Person for this Employment ; upon your Approbation of this, I shall prepare my Letter. The packet I received Yesterday, was from *David Griffin*, in answer to the former of your Expresses ; the Party I mean by that Name, is none of those in your Note. I am not yet edified with the Fitness for me to propose for a Personal Treaty, for it looks too like Begging for Liberty ; but shortly Occasions may so fall out, as to make it councilable, until you tell me whom you mean by my Little Officer of the Parliament-Side, and what Narrative he means by, I can say nothing to his Proposition. I hope before this you have received my Yesterdays Letter.

39.

No. 14.

48.

Saturday, 29 July, 1648.

I am very glad you approve of sending 52 to 41's Brother, (whom hereafter I shall name by 58) and accordingly I have herewith sent you a letter of Credence ; wherein I have only named the Business, leaving all Particulars to 52. to whom I have given a full Testimony for Trust. Now, as for his Instructions, I must clearly leave to you, who knows the Particulars of this Business much better than I can do. As for the particular Case mention'd, I believe that it will not fall out ; but if it do, after that 48. and 51. have understood the Importance of this Design, and Feasibility of it, I must leave it to their Judgments, to do as they shall find fittest for my Service : But I know no Provision against such an Accident, unless we could put the lesser Design in Execution, by laying a Train for 50. The Letter I sent *Seymer* for 41. now must not go ; because, in a sort, it may seem to contradict this Dispatch. To conclude this Point, there is no more to do, but to send 52. speedily away, well instructed (which I leave and recommend to you) unto 58. and to encourage

the Honest Men of this Island to be constant in their Good Intentions. What was told your Messenger, by the Man of the House, concerning *David Griffin*, was meerly a Disguise ; but I am confident, that this Dispatch, which I herewith send you for him, will make him trust this Conveyance, tho' he neither does, nor shall know my Factors in this way.

39.

No. 15.

48. *Tuesday, 1 Aug. 1648. Afternoon 4 a Clock.*

Your slow Answer to my Dispatch of Saturday last, made me afraid that our Intelligence had been disordered ; so that your Yesterdays Note, which I received this Morning, I assure you, was very welcom unto me. I hope 52. will have a speedy Journey, for your Information concerning 58. is most true. You will find by the Indorsement of this inclosed to *Griffin*, that he hath changed his Lodging, but it is for the better, and if you will direct your Messenger to stay for an Answer, I believe he will now have one ; the reason why the others had none, was, because he came but seldom to the former Place, only leaving Directions to receive Packets. I desire you to haste this away, it being of more Importance than my other of *Saturday* was ; for in this I have written to 41. in Recommendation of 52. and his Employment ; it being most necessary, because for certain 41. and 58. are both together, and not like to part Company ; but concerning this, what I have written to 41. is all in Cypher ; and not a Word to any body else.

I do not well understand the meaning of your Postscript, how these of 53 improve every Day.

39.

No. 16.

48. *Wednesday, after Supper, 2 August.*

I thank you for the careful sending away of my Packets, but wonder I have had none this Day from *Griffin*, for methinks he should have sent me word of that News which 49. have given you Notice of ; wherefore I fear lest some Letter coming to me may have miscarried. Now as to the Alteration of the Scene upon this News, to deal freely with you, I have no great hopes that much Good will come of it,

because I do not believe that those who come to Treat will have Power to debate, but only to propose ; besides, what Capacity a Prisoner hath to Treat, as yet I know not. Wherefore hold Dispositions as they were, and let not Men be deceiv'd with a Mock-Treaty, for so this yet seems to me, I pray God I be mistaken.

Remember to send Pamphlets. I understood the Cypher, but mistook your Phrase.

39.

No. 17.

48. *Thursday, 3 August, at Night.*

Having this Day been visited by a Friend, with whom I had not time to speak unto, I must desire you to deliver this inclosed Note unto her ; assuring you, that you may freely trust her in any thing that concerns my Service ; for I have had perfect tryal of her Friendship to me. I have now no more to say, but that the speedy delivery of this to Mrs. *Whorwood*, (who is this Friend I mentioned) will be no small Courtesy.

Tell her, that I expect an Answer, either by Word or Writing.

39.

No. 18.

48. *Friday-morning, 4 August.*

Your Trouble at this time, is caused by my Obligations to another Friend, to whom I could not acquit my self as I ought to do, without this favourable Assistance from you, of delivering this inclosed Note unto the same Party to whom I sent you one Yesternight ; which is occasioned upon a Discourse which I had this morning with 50. otherwise I would not have put you to this second Trouble, and I assure you that a speedy Account of this will be of much Satisfaction to

39.

No. 19.

48. *Friday after Supper, 4 August.*

I Thank you for the good Account which I received from you, even now, of the three last Letters I sent you ; and am in good hope, (by some Letters I received Yesterday

from 48) that 52. will have a quick dispatch of his Business. This inclosed is for the same Friend which my two last were, in Answer to what I received within yours this Night, which I desire you to deliver with your accustomed Care and Diligence, hoping to have an Account of this by to Morrow at Night.

39.

No. 20.

48. *Saturday at 10 at Night, 5 August.*

I thank you for giving so good and quick Account of my Letters, which make me still put you to the same Trouble ; this inclosed being to the same Friend my last was ; I thank you also for the Prints ; and do intend by my next to send you a New Concept of mine, concerning our Great Business.

39.

No. 21.

48. *Sunday-afternoon, 6 August.*

I much approve of, and heartily thank you, for the staying of my Friend so long in this Isle ; who, as you say, I believe may be of excellent Use, for our Great Business ; and therefore by this inclosed I have desired her to have a little more Patience ; and I also intreat you to deal freely with her ; tell her particularly, how her stay may be useful to me, as to the securing of 50. As soon as I hear what the three *London-Commissioners* say to me, I will perform the Promise I made to you Yesternight ; in the mean time, you shall do well to keep all Affections straight.

39.

I long to have an Answer to this, for I have written very freely to my Friend.

No. 22.

48. *Monday after Supper, 7 August.*

This Morning I had a Dispatch from you, in which there were Letters from some of my Friends in *London*, a Note of some Figures and Names, and a good Account of those Letters which I wrote Yesterday and the Day before unto you ; and even now I received your other written this

Day, with one from my Friend N. to which this inclosed is an Answer ; and am well satisfied with those Hints she hath given me, of which I doubt not but to make good Use, being also very willing that you should enlarge upon those Arguments ; for Advice from my Friends may do me Good, but never Harm. As for the broken Cover, when I seal with Wafers, as I did then, my Seal sometimes being hard prest, sometimes breaks the Paper, as I remember that was ; but I thought, when it was fully dried, it would have stuck together, thanking you for taking notice of it to me, for hereafter it will make me take the more care. I pray you give my Friend N. a Copy of all those Names and Figures I have with you.

39.

No. 23.

48. *Thursday, after Supper, 10 August.*

I thank you for sending me so good Auditors, and I cannot doubt of their being well pleased ; for I assure you, that the Commissioners are gone away very well satisfied, and are in good hope to return speedily a Satisfactory Answer to all that the King hath demanded. I thank you likewise for the quick dispatch of my last Dispatch : But as for the New Guide, I know not what it means, for I order nothing in that kind ; all that I do, is to put my Letters in a Secret Place ; and saving the Person that takes them from thence, I know nothing of their Journies ; therefore you shall do well to take care of those Circumstances, for I cannot. Tell N. that what she desired concerning the City of *London*, is already done in my last Dispatch.

64.— Treaty. This Figure was left void of a Name ; therefore I thought fit to fill it.

39.

No. 24.

48. *Saturday-night, 12 August.*

I send you herewith, according to my Promise, a Copy of the King's Answer to the Proposition for a Treaty, which I pray you send back as soon as you have taken a Copy of it.

39.

No. 25.

48. *Sunday-afternoon, 13 August.*

Yours of Yesterday, with one from N. and some Pamphlets, was very welcom to me in divers respects ; they telling me some good News, of which I heard not before, and confirming others to me.

Tell N. (when you give this inclosed to her) that it is now the best Caudle I can send her ; but if she would have a better, she must come to fetch it herself ; and yet, to say truth, her *Platonick* Way doth much spoil the Taste in my Mind ; and if she would leave me to my free Cookery, I should think to make her confess so herself.

I hope you will have received the Copy, before this comes to you ; the chief Cause why I desire the return of it, is because I have no other.

39.

No. 26.

48. *Monday, after Supper, 14 August 1648.*

This Morning I received back the Copy of my Answer, now I send you a Packet to *Griffin*, which I desire you to speed away unto him, giving me an Account when it is gone. Tell N. that 50. spoke to me this Morning about her Business ; but I told him, that if she came to me herself, I would give her an Answer, but to no body else ; because I thought unreasonable to give any Answer to Business, except to those, who might speak freely to me themselves. This is all at this time from

39.

No. 27.

48. *Tuesday-morning, 15 August, 1648.*

Yours of Yesterday-morning came this, by which it much satisfies, to find that you are so well pleased with the Paper I sent you, for you know from whom *Bonum est laudari*. I also thank you for the good Account you give me of all my Letters. This inclosed is an Answer to N. and tell her, that she neither dated this last, nor gave a full Answer to mine. But I lay the Fault on 50's Doggedness to her, and no want of Civility to me. As for yourself, be sure, when 39. keeps House again, there will be those who

shall think then themselves happy ; and yet sit lower at the Table than 48. and be confident, that this shall be made good by

39.

No. 28.

48. *Tuesday, after Supper, 15.*

I thank your Diligence, in compliance with all my Desires, and the good Account you give me of them, and not a little for your Piece of Entertainment ; and seriously I know not whether he is more Fool or Knave, for he lyes most abominably of me ; nor could I think that he could write so much Nonsense ; for sometimes he can speak to purpose. I pray you commend my Service to all my Feminine Friends, and tell 47. that I hope she believes that I never recommended 57. in earnest to her ; but it was merely to have by his means, sometimes the Conversation of such Honest Persons as herself ; and truly, for that end, she shall do well, not to put him in despair. Tell N. when you deliver this inclosed, that I see she will in time learn to answer Letters, but yet she mistakes Dates ; for she called this the 14th, and that I expect an Answer to this.

39.

No. 29.

48. *Wednesday, after Supper, 16 August.*

When you deliver this inclosed to N. I pray you tell her, that I shall be in much Impatience, until I receive an Answer to this little Letter.

39.

No. 30.

48. *Thursday-afternoon, 17 August.*

It is true that I have had the Pamphlets of the last Week, for this Morning I have received a Dispatch from *Griffin*, dated on *Monday* last ; but, to my great wonder, I found that mine of the 9th of this Month was not then come to him ; wherefore I desire you to inquire where the Fault was : this inclosed to 47. I likewise received, to whom I pray you commend me, and tell her that I shall

be more willing, and full as ready to do her a real Service, as this small Courtesy of conveying this Letter to her ; and to N. that I expect an Answer to this inclosed, and desire her to mark well the Postscript.

39.

*No. 31.*48. *Thursday-night, 17 August.*

My haste this Day to return N. a speedy Answer, made me slip something which since I have remembered ; and therefore again I put you to this Trouble, hoping that by the Morrow at Night I shall have Answer from her of both together.

39.

*No. 32.*48. *Friday-afternoon, 18 August.*

Yours of Yesterday I even now received, having thereby, I thank you, received a good Account of all my Directions ; and am very glad to understand, that 52. hath escaped all his Danger ; concerning whom I have nothing to say, but that his Addresses must be now wholly to 41. and not to 58. and to tell him what 60. are come to 54. as for 64. if real, 41. will do nothing in Prejudice ; otherways he will know how to act. Now as for N. thank her for the good News she sent me ; deliver this inclosed, and desire her to remember her Promise.

39.

*No. 33.*48. *18 August, at Night.*

I this Day received two little Packets from you ; the former already, now this is answered. I like well your Addition of Names. Deliver this inclosed to N. as soon as you can, if, before it come to you, she be not gone to a Visit ; in that Case, keep it until her return.

39.

*No. 34.*48. *Saturday-afternoon, 20 August, 1648.*

Yesternight I had a voluminous Dispatch from London, with great complaints of the slowness of your Messenger,

wherefore I desire you to take order with 49. that there be more diligence used hereafter : Also a Letter from N. to which this inclosed is an Answer ; against whom and your Wife I have a Quarrel, for being here Yesterday, and not seeing me ; but an easy Satisfaction will content me, tho' some I must have. For News, I refer you to N. expecting an Answer both from you and her, by to Morrow-morning, before Noon.

No. 35.

48. *Sunday-night, 20 August.*

I have by this inclosed desired N. not to send her Horseman, until I send you my Packet for *London* ; I am glad to hear that 54. is so well disposed, and that so little reckoning is made of 60. that are already here, hoping that 54. shall have rather fewer than more of that Generation.

39.

No. 36.

48. *Monday, after Supper, 21 August.*

You and N. have fully answered mine of Yesternight, but a Pox on 50. for I think the Devil cannot out-go him, neither in Malice nor Cunning ; but I believe, before this comes to you, you will hear more of his Praise from N. to whom when you deliver this inclosed, desire her to return an Answer as soon as she may. I thank you for returning my Paper ; and that of yours speaks my Heart. I cannot end my *London*-Packet before to Morrow night ; so that you cannot have it before Wednesday-morning, but then I desire you to give it a quick Dispatch.

39.

No. 37.

48. *Tuesday, August 22, after Supper.*

This is the dispatch for *London*, that I told you of, which I pray you send away with all possible Diligence and Care, that it be not long in going : Likewise herewith I have sent N. some fresh News, this day come from *London*, which she will shew you ; and so I desire a speedy account of this Dispatch,

39.

No. 38.

48. *Wednesday-morning, August 23.*

I have received N's. sad Story ; and seriously I could not have believed that so much Barbarity could have been in any body, that pretended to be Gentleman ; and therefore in Charity I thought my self obliged to return her a consolatory Letter herewith ; which is all my business at this time, expecting an account of yesternight's Dispatch,

39.

No. 39.

48. *Wednesday night, August 23.*

I thank you for the quick dispatch of my Packet, and like very well your Caution ; for certainly all sort of Barbarity is to be expected from 50: And it is some little consolation, that thus, in despite of him, I converse with those Friends, with whom he debars to speak with,

39.

No. 40.

48. *Thursday forenoon, August 24.*

Indeed N. had reason to desire a speedy Answer ; and I hope by this inclosed she hath it to her Contentment : And it was reason she should have it ; for hers to me gave me much,

39.

No. 41.

48. *Thursday afternoon, August 24.*

Herewith I send to N. that which I promis'd her by my Letter this morning, expecting an account of that other business, which she hath put me in hope of,

39.

No. 42.

48. *Friday morning, August 25.*

Slight Mistakings upon Relations cannot make me chide my Friends, the finding of the Error being a sufficient mends, it being little or no Shame (especially now a-days) *Mendacium dicere* ; for it would too much

hinder Conversation, strictly to be tyed to tell nothing but Truths ; I mean as to Reports : Wherefore I leave N. to your chiding, and desire a speedy Answer from her to this inclosed, and particularly to the Postscript,

39.

No. 43.

48. *Friday afternoon, August 25.*

This is my second to you and N. this day, though I believe this last needed not, yet I would not so much as seem lazy to my Friends ; and you know Repetitions, especially to some sort, are very grateful. Tell N. that notwithstanding her often Writing, yet she is in my Debt as to punctual Answering,

39.

No. 44.

48. *Saturday forenoon, August 26.*

I can well distinguish between Gentlemen and Merchants Humours ; the shifting of the one shall not make me mistake the other : All Diurnals are forbidden to be shewn me ; yet I shall pump 50 as well as I may. Tell N. that she shall have no more Pardons, without answering more punctually to my Letters, beginning with this inclosed,

39.

No. 45.

48. *Sunday after Supper, August 27.*

I was forced to speak a little big, before 50 would acknowledge my freedom ; but at last hath done it in the general ; and if in the Particulars he offers to retract, then he shall hear me on the deafest side of his Head ; and I believe that within these few days, I shall put him to some tryal,

39.

No. 46.

48. *Tuesday after Supper, August 29.*

Here I send you the Packet for London, that I desired N. to tell you of, praying you that it may be speeded away

with a Messenger that will not loiter ; and when you deliver this other to N. thank her for the Visit she stole upon me yesternight, for seriously I scarce believed my own Eyes when I saw her. I intend on *Thursday* to make you a Visit, but I desire you not to take notice of it, until 50 send you word of it, for yet I have not told him,

39.

No. 47.

48. *Wednesday at night, August 30.*

Though I believe that I shall be with you near as soon as this Letter, yet I cannot but give you thanks for the quick dispatch of my Packet : Also tell N. that I shall be willing to see her to morrow her own way ; and so after dinner shall expect your Key,

I could wish that 50 would stay at home, but cannot hope it.

39.

No. 48.

48. *Saturday after Supper, September 2.*

The Friend you sent me this day gave me a chiding, and yet I will not complain, for there was more Justice than Malice in it : It was, because I did not look kind enough upon 49, on *Thursday* last at your House ; for the truth is, that I had so many things that day in my Head, that I wonder not though every one thought that I looked doggedly on them ; wherefore I desire you to assure 49 from me that no sower Looks was intended for him, but all Kindness : I desired N. to make a Proposition to you in my Name ; if she have not, call to her for it ; and if she hath, I pray give me your opinion of it,

39.

Remember N. to send me back what I lent her this day.

No. 49.

48. *Sunday night, September 3.*

When next I see 49, I shall satisfy him as you advise : As for what I proposed to you by N. it is yet but in *Embryo*, and I confess well to be thought on, before resolved ; for what she said to you, was rather to set your Thoughts on work, than to make a Judgment as to any Resolution :

Wherefore I desire you to think well of it, and at the first opportunity I shall enlarge my self upon it, either to you, or some of those few, who are fit to know of such a business. In the mean time all that can be done, is to keep 54 in right Inclinations, which I know you will endeavour.

39.

This inclosed to N. is my opinion concerning her Journey, and that is *quod dubitas ne feceris*.

No. 50.

48.

Tuesday morning, September 5.

Though I intend this afternoon to be at *Newport*, yet in the mean time I think fit to tell you, that you may freely trust Sir *Edward Walker*, whom I have commanded to communicate all things freely with you ; as also to give N. a short Answer to the long, wise Discourse she sent me,

39.

No. 51.

48.

Wednesday night, September 6.

I could not choose but give a chiding to N. by this inclosed, for not giving me a Visit with the rest of the Ladies this night ; to which at least I expect an Answer,

39.

No. 52.

CHARLES.

Newport, Tuesday, October 3, 1648.

Yours by *Oudart* I received upon *Sunday* last, and am very well satisfied with your account, and his relation ; only I somewhat wonder that you give me no account of my last Letter, which was of the 6th of *September* our Stile, wherein I gave you a conditional advice concerning 563, 528, 456, of which you was then more able to judge than I ; but now being at some more freedom, I hope shortly to give you a reasonable clear advice : As for my Directions to you at this time, the issue of this Treaty must be your chief Guide ; in the mean time, cherish the Fleet as much as you may, and stay where you are, until you hear farther from me, or that you find you cannot hear from me ; and in that case, you are to guide your self according to your best Intelligence, in order to my relief :

And now I must command you to answer me freely to a Question, (I am confident that you will not dissemble with me) which is if, 615, 211, 179, 217, 52, 5, 25, 62, 557, 24, 9, 20, 39, 56, 1, 34, 19, 6, 90, 34, 26, 347, 15, 23, 33, 50, 345, 509, 447, 328, 27, 5, 49, 71, 448, 340, 275, 350, 328, 345, (36, 563, 29, 1, 39, 5, 51, 37, 15, 7, 72, 61) 10, 9, 285, 404, 277, 615 ; to this I would have your speedy resolution, for I am told that lost time now in it, will not be recovered, and I believe it may be of much advantage to my Service, wherefore it were pity to let slip this opportunity ; so referring you to *Oudart* for a relation to this Treaty, I rest

Your loving Father

CHARLES R.

I earnestly recommend Sir *William Compton* (the Earl of *Northampton's* Brother) to you ; and this I do without the least sollicitation ; only hearing that he is where you are, I must command you to cherish him, for there is not a gallanter Youth in the World.

My Sister hath desired me to thank you and your Brother for your respects to her, which indeed is well done, for her Affection truly speaks her my Sister.

No. 53.

The following letter was written by another Person, giving an account of a design between the Parliament and Army to seize the King's Person, which, with other Informations to the same purpose, made him endeavour an Escape. And note that which is in Cypher, was decypher'd by the King himself ; and what is written over the Figures, is the King's own hand. The whole letter is as follows: ¹

I shall give you no account of my Travels, it being a subject for the Variety of Accidents (and especially Dangers) that may more become a Romance than Letter, but wearied with a bad Journey I safely concluded it about 10 this morning, since when I have bestirr'd my self in something satisfactory concerning the present

¹ Wagstaffe's note. For the approximate date on which Mrs. Whorwood wrote this letter, see p. 151. The interpretation of the code is in italics.

Occurrents ; and have discover'd that an absolute comply is therefore insisted on, because not probably expected from the King, and without it no acquiesce on the Parliament's part. You will give me leave to fool it a little, so it be in Figures ; which to unlock, my dear Friend 391 [*the King*] (upon my request made to him) will I know lend you his Key : There is 21, 268, 94, 136, 337, 362, 217, 15, 72, 85, 291 (*a notable design, to which are agreed the Army and Parliament*). And by concurring Counsails, to which end 93, 151, 218, 323, 337, 60, 44, 2, 49, 372, 337, 143, 20, 41, 65, 18, 281, 192, (*an Express is sent to Cromwell to dispose of his Majesty*), many here wish (for his Friends in the City are numerous) that the King would throughly concede, to prevent Dangers incumbering ; but I fear, if Good be not intended him, no condescension of his can abort it. 219, 338, 5, 195, 375, 104 (*If then he will be*), take 200, 337, 199, 422, 244, 200, 144, 217, 282, (*him to his Escape, let him do it on*) Thursday or Friday 53, 161, 24, (*next*), but by all means 284, 281, 326, 57, 2, 41, 35, 268, 171, 338, 24, 52, 47, 281, 338, 6, 4, 358 (*out of some Door and not from the top of the House*), by the help of 64, 26, 63, 57, 27, 70, 66, (*Ladders*), for I have heard too much of that way talk'd of, 103, 326, 5, 15, 90, 200 (*by some near him*). Further I desire none may be trusted herewith, but 386, 65, 282, 85, 31, 32, 3, 217, 23, (*your Son and Levett*). 338, 290, 281, 285, 93, 33, (*The Prince of Orange*) will not fail I know to send 39, 11, 65, 58, 25, 26, (*a Ship*), but I have too great reason to apprehend, if he rely thereon, his Intention will be made frustrate, as not coming time enough. I have given some Overtures to him, which you giving him the sense, or sight of this Letter, may as you see cause advance. For your own particular, I have such grounds of 338, 182, 65, (*the Governor's*) indigust 281, 192, 66, 422, (*of his Majesty's Escape*), as if perform'd shall never 108, 384, 216, 337, 86, (*bring you into any*) Examin 26, 4, 223, (*ation*), or Trouble 21, 9, 284, 217, (*about it*) ; yet I shall not be so peremptory herein, as to cash your Discretion, if you be otherwise disposed for your Security. I shall not torment you with long Compliments, but if by your return I receive assurance of this Convoy, I shall be ready in this or any kind of Command to shew how really I am,

Your most affectionate HELLEN.

No. 54.

48. *Saturday night, October 7.*

This is so safe a way of deliverance, that I will not trouble my self with my slow Hand : Though I doubt not of your Care in expediting that business, whereof I spoke to you this morning ; yet I cannot but tell you, that you cannot make ready too soon, for by what I have heard since I saw you, I find that few days will make that impossible, which now is feasible. Wherefore I pray you, give me an account as soon as you can ; *First*, where I shall take Boat ? (spare not my walking, in respect of security). Then, how the Tyde falls out ? or whether, in case the Wind do serve, it be necessary to look to the Tydes ? What Winds are fair ? What may serve ? And what are contrary ? Consider also, if a Pass from 50 may not be useful. *Lastly*, how soon all will be ready, and what the Impediments are which rests : To all this a speedy Answer is expected, by

39.

I shall order the time of Night as you shall judge most convenient.

No. 55.

48. *Sunday, at Night, 8 Octob.*

I was mistaken, and you are in the right, but I found my Error, before your Letter came to me, and resolved just as you advised ; and accordingly you will hear to Morrow, that I have given full Satisfaction concerning the *Militia*, with which I have yet acquainted no living Soul but yourself ; for even 42. suspects nothing less, so that I am confident these Rubs you have found will be taken away. In a word, as you so love my Safety, go on chearfully with your Preparations ; for I cannot make good what I now put them in hope of, only I durst not dissemble in Point of Conscience, which they care so little for, that I hope they will not break with me for it, as by divers ways of Intelligence I understand : Again, I desire you to haste the Work I have set you upon. Lose no Time, and give daily an Account how you proceed therein, to

39.

I am so careful to keep this Business secret, that I resolve to acquaint no Man with it, but at the Instant when I am to act.

No. 56.

48.

Monday-night, 9 Octob.

I pray you rightly to understanding my Condition (which I confess Yesternight I did not fully enough, through want of time) it is this : Notwithstanding my too great Concessions already made, I know, that unless I shall make yet others, which will directly make me no King ; I shall be at best, a Perpetual Prisoner. Besides, if this were not, (of which I am too sure) the adhering to the Church, (from which I cannot depart, no not in Shew) will do the same: And, to deal freely with you, the great Concession I made this Day, was merely in Order to my Escape, of which, if I had not Hope, I would not have done : for then I could have returned to my streight Prison without reluctancy: But now I confess it would break my Heart, having done that which only an Escape can justify. To be short, if I stay for a Demonstration of their farther wickedness, it will be too late to seek a Remedy ; for my only Hope is, that now they believe that I dare deny them nothing, and so be less careful of their Guards. Wherefore, as you love my Safety, let us dispatch this Business as soon as we can, without expecting News from London. And let me tell you, that if I were once abroad, and under Sail, I would willingly enough hazard the Three Pinnaces. To conclude, I pray you to believe me, (and not the common voice of Mankind) that I am lost if I do not Escape, which I shall not be able to do, if (as I have said) I stay for further Demonstrations. Therefore for God's sake hasten with all Diligence you can, and give a Daily Account to

39.

I expect a particular Account of those Queries I sent you by the first Note I wrote to you about this Business.

Upon my Word, N. knows nothing of this Business, nor shall ; not out of mistrust, (for I cannot be more confident of any) but to keep my rule, of not putting more upon such a great Secret as this, than is of absolute

Necessity. Again, I pray you to be quick and diligent in Freeing of me.

Tell N. that I cannot Answer that Letter, before to Morrow.

No. 57.

48. *Tuesday-afternoon, October 10.*

What I wrote Yesternight, was not to add Spurs, but really to give you the true State of my Condition ; and as I have freely trusted you with the greatest Secret I have, in regard to your Fidelity ; for the Feasibility, I shall trust to your Judgment. It were a wrong to my Confidence and your diligence, more to exhort you: Wherefore, this is only to tell you that I find it necessary, to acquaint this Bearer, *George Kirke*, my oldest and most trusty Servant with this great Secret, both to ease my pains of Writing, and for the better Adjusting of all Particulars: And so I refer you to what he shall say to you from

39.

The procuring of a Dutch Pink, would make all sure.

No. 58.

48. *Monday, October 16.*

Your Intelligence concerning the power of the Commissioners is certainly mistaken, tho' I believe they have a great Influence as to Resolutions of the Houses of Westminster ; but assuredly they have no Power here, but only to propose and receive Answers. I shall hold out as long as possibly I may, but it cannot be long ; for the Businesses of the Church and my Friends come so fast upon me, that I cannot promise you a Week ; therefore lose no time.

39.

No. 59.

48. *Tuesday after Supper, 17 October.*

Excuse my Impatience, that I desire you to give me an Account where the Business sticks ; for I assure you, that I shall have but few Days free to Act my Part. I need say no more ; but let me know what is possible to be done, and then it is for me to judge.

39.

I assure you, my Friends abroad desire my Freedom (if it be possible) more than myself; being confident thereby in a great measure, to alter the Face of Affairs.

I send you this note open, because of the trust of the Bearer.

No. 60.

48. *Monday, 30 October.*

The Ill News from London, makes me at this time, desire an Account of 52's Proceedings. Believe me, I shall very speedily be put to my Shifts, or Coopt-up again, wherefore, if you can conveniently, I would speak with you this night After-Supper.

39.

No. 61.

48. *Thursday, after Supper, 9 November.*

Tho' you dare not to be too confident (for which I cannot blame you) of Newland, yet, if you have no just cause of Diffidence, I would trust him without any more Tryals, than to know of him how he can pass the Examination of the Sea-Guards: for, I cannot think any Man so great a Devil, as to betray me: when it is visible, that he will gain more for being Honest, than being a Knave. I should be very sorry, that your exposing yourself to this Eastern Wind should do you any harm, but it makes me the more beholding to you, nor shall I forget your daily Pains and Hazards for my service. In the mean time, I hope that this Wind, which probably may bring me good Luck, will do you no Harm. At this time I will say no more; but if the Ship come, I like that Way best, yet if she come not quickly, I must take some other Way; for I daily find more and more reason to Hasten; and even since Supper, I have it from a sure Intelligence, that the Business of Ireland will break all; wherefore I must stay no longer than towards the end of this next week, if so long. So that you must Act accordingly, and upon *Levet's* return (which I hope will be on Saturday) I must set a Day.

39.

No. 62.

48. *Sunday, 12 Novemb. after Supper.*

That you may give me the fuller Account to Morrow at Night, I desire you to inform yourself of the Tydes, and also of the Horse-Guards, both how they are placed, and what Rounds they ride. This is all now, but when you come, I will propose some Considerations unto you ; how to prevent Accidents. 39.

No. 63.

(From Hurst Castle.)

48. *Friday, 8 Decemb.*

Tho' this be to ask, more than to give, yet I believe, how unequal soever, you will not refuse the Exchange, or Bargain, call it which you will ; that is to say, a great deal of News ; for very little ; for all I can send you, is, that the King is closely kept, and civilly used. Commend me to N. to whom at this time I do not write, because this is only to show you both, how to correspond with me, which I desire may be speedily, and often. So I rest,

Your most affectionate Friend, 39.

I have all my Cyphers, wherefore you and N. may write freely to me, yet I would have ye use as little Cypher as ye may ; but I pray you, let me hear from both of you as soon as you can, by this Conveyance.

No. 64.

(From Windsor Castle.)

48. *Saturday, 30 Decemb. 1648.*

Yours of the 28th of this Month I received yesterday, with one from N. to which this enclosed is an Answer. I had also that former Packet, of which you make mention in this. I am glad you have found so good a way of sending to me, for now I shall still expect a continuation of Correspondency with you, which will be of great Contentment to 39.

●

APPENDIX F
THE WORSLEY LETTERS

OF the letters written by the King to Edward Worsley of Gatcombe only two have been preserved. These are in the Museum at Carisbrooke Castle. They have been printed in Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight* (1781).

The interpretation of the cipher in letter No. 2 is not given, and no key has been found.

The reference is probably to the arrangements for the escape on May 28, about which Worsley had gone to Southampton to consult Titus, to whom he took the King's letter No. 11. (See p. 313.)

No. 1.

16 May, 1648.

Z:

I finde so good fruits in the paines that you take for me, that againe I must put you to a little more troble (asseuring you that you shall finde me thankefull to you for altogether & that not in a meane way) it is that you would goe to Southampton to one Mrs. Pits Howse, where you will finde W: (Titus) & deliver to him the inclosed w^{ch} you will find directed to him; and also advise with him, where I shall take the boat and where land and the watch word as soone as you can : the other is to 395 : w^{ch} I desyre you send safely and speedely to him : but I would not have any bodie know that I have written to him: So I rest

your most asseured frend,

J:

Least you should not understand the Cypher ; the thin letter is for him, for whom I sent you one, upon the fifth of this month : to w^{ch} (I thanke

you for your care) I have had an Answer and this is a reply to that: If I knew certainly that you had the Cypher out of w^{ch} I have written this name, I would wryte more freely then now I care.

No. 2.

22 May, 1648.

Z:

I am verrie well satisfied with the discreete and carefull account that you have given me of my Business and particularly that you did 208 : 343 : 294 : 74 : 9 : 45 : 86 : 18 : 96 : 1 : 40 : 82 : 395 : 380 : 2 : 20 : 3 : 230 : 388 : 45 : 36 : 4 : 11 : 7 : 43 : 31 : 62 : 270 : 248 : now it will be 36 : 19 : 5 : 32 : 39 : 12 : 37 : 8 : 97 : I desyre you to enqyre whether or not 396 : 213 : 355 : 204 : 28 : 21 : 363 : 257 : 64 : 36 : 46 : 9 : 32 : 395 : 42 : 35 : 14 : 53 : 38 : 23 : 18 : 50 : 88 : but for this 236 : 308 : 267 : 356 : 282 : 96 : 62 : 86 : 205 : 17 : 356 : 66 : 50 : 97 : 206 : 231 : 248 : 38 : 1 : 20 : 2 : 230 : 388 : 46 : 36 : 257 : 208 : 86 : 25 : 268 : 8 : 3 : 50 : 240 : 6 : 51 : 248 : 416 : 303 : 78 : 9 : 68 : 45 : in the meane tyme lett me know 379 : 4 : 28 : ¹5 : 348 : 354 : the ² . . . 206 : 18 : So I rest

Your asseured frend,

J:

¹ 4 : 28 : is perhaps 428.

² Gap in the manuscript.

APPENDIX G

THE OUDART LETTERS

NICHOLAS OUDART served the King as Secretary at Hampton Court and during the Treaty at Newport. Two letters addressed to him came into the possession of Peck and are printed in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, Vol. 2, pp. 410, 411. The interpretation of the cipher was entered on the letter by Oudart himself.

No. 1.

(Written from Hurst Castle.)

Thursday 5 December 1648

469 [Oudart] The chief errand of this dispatch is to how you how to send to me (for which I refer you to this bearer 51. 218. 80. 285. 62. 325. 48. 173.) [Mistres Wheeler]. Also I desyre an account from you concerning those directions I gave you when I last saw you. Lyke-wais I would have an answer of that dispatch I sent to 377. 127. 49. 28. 83. 30. 81. 61. 77. 219. 137. 217. 29. 425 [since I came hither].¹ For newes the little that there is here, you will have by this trusty messenger. Only I cannot but tell you, that hitherto we have no newes at all, eather from the Army or Westminster. So longing to heare from you, I rest

Your good friend

J:

These few words of cypher are in that by which you decypher'd the last letter I gave you to open.

Note : This letter is endorsed by Oudart : R 11 Dec. 1648

Resp. 12°

showing that he received it on the 11th and replied on the 12th.

¹ The name of the correspondent whose code number is 377 is not entered. The last part of the cypher is incorrectly given. It should be 217. 19. 110. 29. 201. 425. (I came to Hurst Castle.)

No. 2.

*(Written from Winchester.)**Wedensday 20 December 1648*

814. 48. 2469.¹ I am much shortned in tyme, because of the hast of the Messenger. Therfor I will only answer yours of the 15th instant (which I yesterday received) in that which is of most importance. 217. 110. 257. 331. 74. 246. 18. 28.² 144. 225. 51. 94. 174. 15. 114. 29. 112. 241. 322. 48. 50. 257. 310. 219. 299. 75. 83. 52. 170. 80. 77. 331. 54. 8. 243. 129. 331. 116. 442. 245. 48. 119. 310. 151. 78. 41. 35. 55. 30. 2. 217. 132. 258. 49. 95. 175. 165. 84. 81. 222. [I am of your mind concerning my escape and like well of the instruments you name but you at London must lay the designe. I can only expect it.] Wherfor 220. 331. 145. 31. 1. 96. 259. 68. 123. 82. 79. 322. 49. 48. (219. 530. 217. 159. 331. 301. 316. 28. 175. 69. 164. 222. 43. 258) 217. 208. 222. 295. 252. 82. 3. 32. 9. 44. 50. 28. 258. 246. 62. 58. 217. [If you doe your parts well (in which I desire you to use an expedition) I hope it shall not faile on mine. I] intend 301. 77. 162. 331. 51. 97. 234. 173. 78. 178. 423. 112. 466. 115. 79. 65. 258. 29. 115. 217. 139. 243. 301. 527 (530. 217. 396. 328. 124. 258. 77. 116. 173. 146. 254) 129. 78. 64. 258. 173. 217. 132. 252. 80 [to send you my letters for London and Ormond as soone as I come to Windsor (which I expect will be on Saturday next) but sooner I cannot.] So thanking you for your newes and desiring to heare often from you, I rest

Your good friend

J:

¹ Probably a misprint for 814. 482. 469. Oudart's code number is 469, there is no clue to the other two numbers.

² Should be 258.

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